

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING,
AND BURNING

PART 6

(San Francisco—Berkeley)

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETIETH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

JUNE 27 AND 28, 1968

(INCLUDING INDEX)

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
(90th Congress, 2d Session)

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The House Committee on Un-American Activities is a standing committee of the House of Representatives, constituted as such by the rules of the House, adopted pursuant to Article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States which authorizes the House to determine the rules of its proceedings.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 90TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 10, 1967, as amended April 3, 1968, by House Resolution 1099

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-ninth Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby, adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Ninetieth Congress * * *

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(s) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

19. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

28. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

* * * * *

SYNOPSIS

On June 27 and 28, 1968, a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met in Washington, D.C., to continue hearings on subversive influences in riots, looting, and burning. The hearings, part 6 of the series, concern events related to the San Francisco, Calif., riot of September 1966. The subcommittee was composed of Representatives Edwin E. Willis (D-La.), chairman; William M. Tuck (D-Va.); Richard H. Ichord (D-Mo.); John M. Ashbrook (R-O.); Albert W. Watson (R-S.C.); and John C. Culver (D-Iowa) in the absence of Mr. Willis.

Edward S. Montgomery, in the employ of the *San Francisco Examiner* since 1945, was called as a witness. As an investigative reporter, he had received numerous awards, including a Pulitzer Prize in 1951 for the best local reporting.

PRERIOU PHASE

With reference to the importance of radical and subversive propaganda disseminated in the San Francisco area prior to the September 1966 riot, Mr. Montgomery made the observation that—

there are social aspects that cause a riot, but the propaganda distributed in the riot area of San Francisco prior to the riot was very inflammatory. In my opinion, it would lead to the condition in the Negro community, making them more receptive.

Discussing Communist Party activities related to riots and propaganda of a racial nature, the witness quoted Northern California Communist Party Chairman Albert J. "Mickey" Lima as saying in a speech at Stanford University in May of 1964, "Communists are definitely involved in America's civil rights revolt." He quoted party General Secretary Gus Hall as saying on May 7, 1968, that while Communists do not dominate urban race riots, "we are a factor in their direction" and that "Wherever there is struggle and movement the general fact can be accepted that party members are playing militant roles."

Mr. Montgomery read from a May 4, 1965, column written by NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins and published in the *San Francisco News-Call Bulletin*. Mr. Wilkins stated, "Once again the Communists are seeking to use American Negroes to help bring about a revolution." After developing the history of attempted Communist exploitation of Negroes, Mr. Wilkins concluded:

It remains to be seen whether this legitimate movement, representing the aspirations of millions of Negroes who are Americans, first and always, can be perverted and made a tool to serve communism.

The witness disclosed that he had knowledge of a meeting "during the past summer" in the Finnish Hall in Berkeley, "a district meeting

of Communist chieftains." Present were Gus Hall; Mickey Lima; Lima's aide, Roscoe Proctor; and others. According to Mr. Montgomery, these Communist Party leaders were disturbed at losing too many Negro party members to more militant organizations; thus, they decided that "a concerted effort should be made in the Bay area to bring as many Negroes back into the Communist fold as possible."

Mr. Montgomery stated that "propagandizing of the Communist Party and front groups has been evidenced over a period of years" in the areas of civil rights and alleged police brutality and that he had made a study of such propaganda appearing in the San Francisco edition of the *People's World*, official Communist Party organ on the West Coast, from January 1, 1962, until May 1968. Numerous exhibits from issues of the paper were introduced into the record. Referring to the San Francisco situation, Mr. Montgomery said—

the Communist Party official newspaper, the *People's World*, for a number of years prior to the riot published a continuing barrage of inflammatory antipolice, racist, antigovernment racist articles, and I think it set the foundation for a gradual buildup of animosity within the minority groups toward law and order, toward the so-called Establishment, the term they like to use.

According to the witness, several groups were involved in racial agitation and propaganda in the San Francisco area prior to the September 1966 riot. Among these organizations, in addition to the Communist Party, were the following: the Direct Action Group; Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination; Progressive Labor Movement (later known as Progressive Labor Party); Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE), a Progressive Labor front; W.E.B. DuBois Clubs; Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist); and Anarchist League of Los Angeles.

The Direct Action Group, according to Mr. Montgomery, was formed at about the time the Communist Party inaugurated all-out support for integration picketing. Among its activities was a demonstration at a drive-in chain in San Francisco and Berkeley, an activity which resulted in some 93 arrests. Composed primarily of students at San Francisco State College and City College, the group had as its spokesman Jeff Cole, son of identified Communist Lester Cole of the Hollywood Ten.

The witness testified that the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination had held numerous demonstrations in the San Francisco area during 1964 and early 1965, including a violence-scarred action at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel which resulted in the arrests of 167 persons, 91 of them alleged members or adherents of the Communist Party. According to Mr. Montgomery's eyewitness account, this demonstration was led by Tracy Sims and Michael Eugene Myerson, both of them members of the Communist Party's W.E.B. DuBois Club. Mr. Montgomery submitted a detailed listing of people associated with the Ad Hoc Committee's activities. Included in this list were children of Communists and notorious fellow travelers, as well as activists in such groups as the DuBois Clubs and Young Socialist Alliance. Among the organizations involved in Ad Hoc Committee activities were the DuBois Clubs, Young Socialist Alliance, Student Peace Union, Young People's Socialist League, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Freedom Now, SLATE, SCOPE, and National Committee To Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Introduced were numerous examples of Progressive Labor's revolutionary and racially inflammatory propaganda, including leaflets, flyers, and several articles from two official PLP publications, *Progressive Labor* and *Spark*. These exhibits contain appeals for revolutionary violence, coupled with attempts to incite hatred and fear of the police. One flyer distributed widely in the Bay area in August 1964 stated, "The only path for winning freedom from oppression is by organizing for revolutionary struggle. * * *"

Mr. Montgomery introduced exhibits to document the activities of the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE) in the San Francisco area. Stating that CERGE had been created as a defense front by PLP to defend PLP Vice President William Epton after the 1964 Harlem riot, the witness read from CERGE documents appealing for support for Epton, an avowed Communist and revolutionist, as well as from a leaflet advertising a CERGE meeting held in San Francisco on March 27, 1965, at which one of the speakers was PLP official William McAdoo.

Documents provided by the witness reflected the concern of the DuBois Clubs with the propaganda issue of alleged police brutality and racial agitation, although it was pointed out that the clubs have concentrated primarily on the issues of poverty and Vietnam. Included in these exhibits were antipolice literature and material urging support for an activity of the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination.

A leaflet distributed by the People's Armed Defense Groups, organized by the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), called on readers to "Oppose the Reactionary Violence OF THE RULING CLASS With the Revolutionary Violence OF THE PEOPLE." The witness testified that this document was widely distributed in the San Francisco area.

Mr. Montgomery stated that the Anarchist League of Los Angeles distributed inflammatory propaganda stickers bearing the phrases "BURN, BABY, BURN," "SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL ANARCHIST," and "WARNING: YOUR LOCAL POLICE ARE ARMED AND DANGEROUS!" He said this material was given wide circulation in various areas of San Francisco and in the Negro area of West Oakland.

Two other documents distributed prior to the riot, according to the witness, were hippie flyers, the first of which said in part: "A race riot seems just about inevitable. Lots of people on both sides want it to happen, & they're all the kind of people who generally get what they want." The second stated, "this is about the riots our black brothers have planned for the city. There isn't much hope that they won't occur."

According to the *Golden Gater*, San Francisco State campus newspaper, for July 22, 1966, James Garrett, Black Students Union leader and former SNCC leader in the Los Angeles area, is alleged to have stated that he was willing to do anything necessary to realize the black nationalist goal of an all-black society, including "killing as the white man has done so often."

Mr. Montgomery said:

I know of my own knowledge that Jerry Varnado [BSU coordinator] made two trips to an Army surplus store * * * in Reno * * *. Within a period of 10 days he had acquired and paid cash for nine hand weapons, either .9 millimeter or .38 caliber.

RIOT PHASE

The spark that set off the riot occurred on the afternoon of September 27, 1966, when a police officer, after two encounters and repeated warnings, shot and killed a young Negro, one of three suspects who fled when the officer discovered them in a stolen car. The witness said that—

by evening it [this incident] had become quite a cause of discussion throughout the Hunter's Point area, and the agitators on the various street corners—groups were there, and they began gathering in size and numbers. The police became alarmed.

Looting and violence broke out, but were at least partially contained by the police the same evening. Violence increased in the Hunter's Point area on the second day. As the rioting spread to the Fillmore area, also on the second day, Chief Cahill was forced to call in the highway patrol and National Guard.

The disturbances were characterized by looting, firebombing, window-smashing, and pelting of police and firemen with such objects as rocks and bottles. There were also instances of sniping at police, including one of gunfire from the second floor of the Bayview Community Center, Hunter's Point area headquarters for the local War on Poverty youth activity.

Mr. Montgomery testified that 457 persons were arrested, 326 of whom were brought to trial. Of this number, 205 were convicted, 91 had their cases dismissed, and 2 forfeited bail. Damage to property and loss from theft exceeded \$136,000. Of the 161 persons injured during the riot, 58 were policemen, 27 were firemen, 2 were highway patrolmen, and 5 were otherwise employed by the city of San Francisco. Of a total population of 750,000, some 100,000 of whom are Negroes, some 4,000 persons were involved at the peak of the riot. According to the official police estimate, the preponderance of the 4,000 was Negro; however, most of the Negroes in the Hunter's Point and Fillmore districts were not involved.

POSTRIOT PHASE

Mr. Montgomery supplied numerous additional examples of Communist Party propaganda from the pages of the *People's World* to illustrate the party's continuing exploitation of the police brutality theme. He stated that the DuBois Clubs have continued to publish racially oriented and antipolice propaganda in their magazine, *INSURGENT*.

Similar material has appeared in Progressive Labor Party leaflets and books and in the pages of *Spark*, official PLP West Coast newspaper. PLP consistently refers to the riots as a "rebellion" and a "battle between the cops and the ghetto people * * *."

Documents introduced into the record indicated considerable activity by the Progressive Labor Party through a front group called the Mission Tenants Union, an organization intended to operate among Negroes and Mexican Americans. According to documentary evidence supplied by the witness, the MTU has agitated and propagandized on such issues as police brutality and draft resistance in collaboration with the following organizations: Mission Committee Against the War, Students for a Democratic Society, Progressive Labor Party,

Black Anti-Draft Union, and the San Francisco Draft Resistance Union.

Another group discussed was the Afro-American Institute, located in San Francisco and founded in January 1967. According to its own literature, the group was formed to foster Negro economic development. Organizer of the institute was William Bradley of San Francisco, characterized by the witness as an "extremely militant" and "aggressive" individual who had been active in the Congress of Racial Equality for some years. One theme of Bradley's propaganda efforts has been the issue of concentration camps allegedly readied by the Government for the internment of black people. Committee counsel pointed out for the record that this same issue had been the subject of a considerable propaganda campaign waged by the Communist-front Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties.

The witness recounted an incident which occurred in San Francisco in September 1967, when the police learned, through a young Negro informant, of a plan to hold an "anniversary riot" in San Francisco in the Fillmore district. The informant reported that some 800 Molotov cocktails had been stored secretly for use in the riot. A few hours before the planned time for the riot on September 26, 1967, police uncovered 475 of the devices as a result of a thorough search in the Fillmore area. Mr. Montgomery observed that this incident occurred at about the same time that a document advocating urban guerrilla warfare and giving directions in the preparation of a Molotov cocktail was being given wide circulation in the area.

Considerable testimony was given on an organization known as the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee, which Mr. Montgomery characterized as being "right from its founding session * * * part and parcel of a Communist-front organization." This group engaged in activity in the fields of opposition to the Vietnam war, propaganda against the Committee on Un-American Activities, and active support for black revolution. Mr. Montgomery told of a meeting held by the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee at the Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park on July 22, 1967. He gave the purpose of the meeting as organization of the black community and the poor whites in support of black power. Among the known members of the Communist Party and/or the party's DuBois Clubs who were present at this meeting, according to Mr. Montgomery's eyewitness testimony, were Howard Albert Harawitz (president of the Berkeley Campus DuBois Club), Roscoe Proctor, Al Richmond, George Sandy, James Fenton Wood, Albert "Mickey" Lima, Terence Hallinan, and Hursel Alexander. Chairman for the meeting was identified Communist Don Rothenberg. Other known party members connected with this project included Saul Wachter, Billie Wachter, and Peter Szego, as well as prominent National Lawyers Guild member Beverly Diana Axelrod. After this meeting, a circular was distributed which contained a proposal by Robert A. Avakian for the purchase of guns for use by black militants in the San Francisco Bay area. Avakian's circular stated in part that "*we must * * * come to the aid of the black revolution * * **" Mr. Montgomery disclosed that at least one such purchase had been made on February 15, 1968, in Reno, Nev., with \$954 paid out for 26 firearms.

On June 28 Mr. Montgomery resumed his testimony with accounts of several incidents of violence other than rioting since the September 1966 riot. This presentation included accounts of snipings and attacks directed at police stations, along with an extensive listing of incidents of sabotage of various utilities in the Bay area.

Mr. Montgomery provided the committee with detailed testimony on the situation at San Francisco State College, beginning with an account of a seminar in guerrilla warfare being given at the Experimental College of San Francisco State College. The course instructor was Robert L. Kaffke, whom the witness identified as having been connected with Latin American guerrilla movements. Exhibits also reflected Kaffke's connection with travel to Cuba in 1963, with the DuBois Club at San Francisco State in 1964, and with a branch of the Progressive Labor Movement in Brooklyn in 1965. Subjects covered in Kaffke's course included "The Ghetto Uprisings," "Intelligence Operations," "Urban Warfare," "Weaponry and Demolitions," "Counter-Insurgency Tactics," and "Perspectives of Revolution in the Americas." Recommended reading for the course included works by such writers as Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Regis Debray. Mr. Montgomery quoted the *Berkeley Barb* of March 15-21, 1968, as saying that William Mandel¹ spoke to the class about his appearance before the Committee on Un-American Activities and that tapes of speeches by H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael would be played on a following date. Mr. Montgomery observed:

The fact that Robert Kaffke has been engaged in racial agitation, however, and the fact that his course on guerrilla warfare includes instruction on demolitions indicate that there might be a link between the acts of sabotage that have taken place and the militant race agitators who, it is known, are advocating guerrilla warfare. We have had them say that the thing to do was to blow up power stations, blow up police stations, blow up factories. There has even been an intimation that they were going to blow up the Standard Oil plant in Richmond. These acts have been advocated by various spokesmen from within the black militant group, as well as the leftists on the campus from time to time.

The witness discussed Dr. Harry Edwards, organizer of the 1968 Olympic boycott and one of the principal organizers of the United Black Students for Action, a disruptive group formed at San Jose State College in September 1967. Edwards is a part-time assistant professor at the same institution. Mr. Montgomery read from a statement made by Edwards in connection with the sniping attack on the Hunter's Point police station in November 1967. "When strategy doesn't work, you have to move on to something else that does work. It doesn't make sense to go on being non-violent when everyone else is being violent." On another occasion, Edwards was said to have stated, "I'm talking about guerrilla warfare with snipers in buildings."

Among the organizations involved in inflammatory racial activity at San Francisco State College, the witness listed the following: Black Students Union (BSU), Movement Against Political Suspension (MAPS), Progressive Labor Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Iranian Students Association, Vietnam Day Committee (VDC), W. E. B. DuBois Club, and Third World Liberation Front (TWLF).

¹ Mr. Mandel was identified as a Communist by Louis Francis Budenz before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Aug. 23, 1951. On May 13, 1960, Mandel appeared as a witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and invoked the fifth amendment when queried concerning past or present Communist Party membership.

A member of the BSU mentioned by the witness was George Murray, an English instructor who was once on-campus coordinator of the Tutorial Program. Murray was quoted as saying, "Anything we do to the 'dog' cannot be wrong. . . . The only crimes we can commit are crimes against humanity. * * *" [Murray is also known to be a member of the militantly racist and violence-oriented Black Panther Party.]

Mr. Montgomery disclosed that the Black Students Union had engaged in acts of violence at San Francisco State College. On November 6, 1967, for example, nine students, some of them BSU members, broke into the offices of the campus newspaper, damaged property, and physically assaulted the editor and other staff employees. All nine were arrested and suspended, but five of the suspensions were later modified to probation or warning.

Investigation by the witness disclosed BSU representation on a number of other California campuses: San Jose State College, Los Angeles City College, Stanford University, California State College at Fullerton, Claremont Men's College, and Mills College, an all-girl institution.

Another group very active in disruption at San Francisco State was the Movement Against Political Suspension. MAPS was active in protesting the suspensions of the four BSU students and two other persons who were connected with a campus magazine known as *Open Process*. These two, Blair Paltridge and Jefferson Poland, were suspended for printing and writing, respectively, obscene material in the November 14, 1967, issue of the magazine; however, the suspensions were later withdrawn.

An item appeared in *Open Process*, which, the witness said, "advocates a general program of hostility to Vietnam efforts":

Sabotage is the only remaining route to peace.

* * * * *

HOW DO YOU COMMIT SABOTAGE? Break war-related laws: draft, security, federal trespassing. Damage war equipment. Join with your fellow workers in strikes, slowdowns, and "botching the job" in key war industries: steel, transportation, aerospace, electronics, etc.

Publish state secrets you have access to, either in the press or as leaflets. People have a right to know what "their" government is up to.

On December 6, 1967, there was a violent demonstration at San Francisco State College. Students and nonstudents, led by Progressive Labor Party member and MAPS leader John Levin, in concert with leftist professor John Gerassi, broke into the school's Administration Building. A few minutes later the rioting spread, with considerable resultant disruption and damage to property. The names of those arrested were submitted for the record, along with their organizational affiliations. Groups represented included Students for a Democratic Society, Black Students Union, and Progressive Labor Party, these three being, according to the witness, "the foremost leaders, the ringleaders," of MAPS. Other groups were the Young Socialist Alliance and a local chapter of the Peace and Freedom Party.

Another key faculty individual involved in disruptive activity at San Francisco State was Juan R. Martinez, deeply involved with the Third World Liberation Front, for which he was faculty adviser.

The witness recounted one instance of TWLF activity in which the group used imported high school students in a demonstration staged on April 30, 1968, at which time the demonstrators invaded the office of the school's dean of admissions and baited him into offering to resign. When the school refused to renew Martinez' contract at the end of the school year, various groups on campus, including SDS, engaged in further disruption and demonstrations.

The Berkeley Emergency Action Committee was characterized by the witness as a "subsidiary" of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee, formed at the Bay Area Committee's July 22, 1967, Hall of Flowers meeting. Organizers were Brownlee W. Shirek and Howard Harawitz. One activity of the Berkeley Emergency Action Committee was an appearance before the Berkeley City Council on July 25, 1967, at which time Harawitz made a statement which "touches with much emphasis on alleged police brutality existing in the Berkeley area." Another speaker at this meeting was Communist Party functionary Raymond Thompson.

The witness stated that the Oakland Emergency Action Committee was active in trying to influence the Oakland City Council in much the same way that the Berkeley Emergency Action Committee had tried in Berkeley. The Oakland Committee's propaganda emphasized the issue of alleged police brutality. One of the Oakland Committee's documents submitted for the record carried the name of the group's corresponding secretary and the following address: 985 60th Street, Oakland, which the witness identified as the address of one Ozzo J. Marrow, identified as a member of the Communist Party.

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

Part 6

(San Francisco—Berkeley)

THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1968

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:25 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio; and Albert W. Watson, of South Carolina; also John C. Culver, of Iowa, in absence of Mr. Willis.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Tuck, Ichord, Ashbrook, and Watson.

Committee members also present: Representatives Joe R. Pool, of Texas; Del Clawson, of California; and Richard L. Roudebush, of Indiana.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we have a very important and impressive witness this morning, Mr. Edward S. Montgomery of the *San Francisco Examiner*.

Mr. Montgomery is the four-time winner of the All-Professional Journalism Award for northern California, twice winner of the Associated Press Award for the best story of the year in the California-Nevada Division, the 1959 winner of the San Francisco Neighborhood Council Public Service Award, served two terms as president of the Press Club of San Francisco, and in 1951 he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the best local reporting.

Mr. Montgomery, would you please stand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD S. MONTGOMERY

Mr. SMITH. State your full name for the record.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Edward S. Montgomery.

Mr. SMITH. What is your profession?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I am a reporter with the *San Francisco Examiner*.

Mr. SMITH. How long have you been employed by the *San Francisco Examiner*?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Since October 11, 1945.

Mr. SMITH. Will you give the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I was graduated in 1934 from the University of Nevada with a degree in journalism and English.

Mr. SMITH. What has been your employment prior to October 11, 1945, when you went with the *San Francisco Examiner*?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. After graduation from the University of Nevada, I started with the *Nevada State Journal* in Reno.

In 1938 I changed employment and joined the staff of the *Reno Evening Gazette* as a general assignment reporter, sports columnist, and sports editor.

In 1942 I enlisted in the Marine Corps and was honorably discharged with the rank of staff sergeant in June of 1945.

In June of 1945 I was hired as a reporter by the *San Francisco Chronicle* and I stayed with the *Chronicle* until October 11, 1945, when I accepted a position with the *San Francisco Examiner*. I have been there ever since.

Mr. SMITH. Have you received any awards in the field of journalism?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. None other than those mentioned here a moment ago by the chairman: four-time winner of the All-Professional Journalism Award for northern California. On two occasions I was winner of the Associated Press Award for the best story of the year in the California-Nevada Division, and in 1959 I was winner of the San Francisco Neighborhood Council Public Service Award. I twice served as president of the Press Club and in the year 1951 I was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for the best local reporting.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, your reputation has preceded you to Washington. It is the understanding of the committee that you are more of a freelance reporter and you develop your own articles by investigation. In other words, you are considered to be an investigator/reporter rather than an assignment reporter. Would you agree that this is a proper evaluation?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I am known as an investigative reporter.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, the committee is investigating the influence which Communists and other subversive elements may have had on riots that occurred in this country during the past few years.

We wish to develop for the record information indicating that individuals or groups of this type have engaged in the dissemination of inflammatory racial literature and propaganda; that they have formed organizations for this purpose or have engaged in other activities which, by inciting racial tension, could pave the way for, or actually spark, a riot.

Has there been a riot in San Francisco?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes. We had a riot in San Francisco on September 27, 1966. It was brought under partial control the following day, on September 28, but broke out anew on the evening of the 28th, continued through the 29th, and it was not until the following weekend that it was finally subdued.

Mr. SMITH. Could you give us some of the basic facts about the riot?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It was a typical mob riot. There was firing, there was firebombing, looting of stores, smashing of windows, setting of fires, pelting of firemen with rocks and bottles, and pelting of police.

Mr. SMITH. Were there any injuries?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, there were a number of injuries. There were about 40 people who required hospitalization. There was one fatality at the outset.

The CHAIRMAN. Despite all of this looting and degradation of property, I suppose the rioters fell behind the whole policy of calling the action of the police as "police brutality."

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I am prepared to give you specific details as to the riot; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In substance, while they were the aggressors, they accused the police of brutality?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I am having difficulty understanding you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In all of these hearings, I am trying to see if there is the same pattern.

You have these looters, rioters, demonstrators, and bums who violate at least local law. I don't think it should offend anybody to realize that we have had local laws, both statewide and municipalwide, against disturbances of the peace from the foundation of the Anglo-American system.

These disturbances of the peace—I am asking you now if it is true that, although they were the aggressors, they nevertheless tried to put the shoe on the other foot and accused the police of police brutality.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. They never fail to charge police brutality.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right; it is the same old story.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It follows the same pattern we have had all over the country, and San Francisco is no exception.

The CHAIRMAN. In New York concerning the riots there, in the discharge of his duty, the policeman Gilligan had to either shoot, kill, or maim a young Negro in self-defense. Then they conditioned the minds of the people for a riot on the basis of the Gilligan "murder."

Did they pick on any particular police brutality over there as the theme, or was it a general thread of accusation?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. There had been accusations of police brutality leading up long before the riot itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Long before and during, and I suppose it is still going on.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Right. That continues today.

Mr. SMITH. How many arrests were made during this riot?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. In the course of the riot itself—I have a specific report of the chief of police, Thomas Cahill, that gives a breakdown.

Actually, there were 457 persons arrested. There were 161 persons injured and to specifically break this down, 58 were policemen, 27 were firemen, 2 were highway patrolmen, 5 were other city employees,

and 69 were civilians. Of these civilians, 10 were injured by gunshot, buckshot fired by police in repelling a mob in the center of the Hunter's Point riot area.

Mr. SMITH. Were there any convictions?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, there were.

Of the total number of cases tried, there were 326 cases brought to court: 205 convictions, 91 dismissals, 2 men skipped bail and trials are still pending, and there are some bench warrants out.

They have a record of 70 percent convictions and 30 percent dismissals.

Mr. SMITH. What is the total population of San Francisco?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. About 750,000.

Mr. SMITH. What is the Negro population of San Francisco?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The Negro population is estimated at 100,000.

Mr. SMITH. Approximately how many people were involved in the riot?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Roughly between 3,000 and 4,000. At its peak, there were about 4,000 people involved.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, for the record, again, this demonstrates that the majority of the colored people were not involved in the riot.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The majority of the colored people in the Hunter's Point or Fillmore districts were not involved.

The CHAIRMAN. While it has been a remarkable and consoling thing in connection with all of the riots occurring in areas such as Watts, Newark, Harlem, and Detroit, how the colored people stood up 10 feet tall and resisted the temptation, I don't know. I think it is a real compliment to the colored race.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I feel, Mr. Chairman, there are social aspects that cause a riot, but the propaganda distributed in the riot area of San Francisco prior to the riot was very inflammatory. In my opinion, it would lead to the condition in the Negro community, making them more receptive.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad you brought that up. Let me tell you that other committees of the Congress, both on the Senate and the House side, have inquired into the "brink" causes of these riots—the ghettos, the underprivileged status of the colored race, and all that—so far as we are concerned, we are operating within the jurisdiction of the committee and we want to find out what, if any, subversive influences were at play in connection with the riots.

That is what we are here to develop this morning. I know there are social injustices and social reasons besides that. Our limited purpose is to stick to and conform to our jurisdiction in order that we might bring out the extent of subversive activities causing and prolonging these riots.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, will you yield at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. I yield.

Mr. ICHORD. You said the Negro population of San Francisco was 100,000, Mr. Montgomery. I did not understand the total population of San Francisco.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. 750,000, of whom 100,000 are Negro.

Mr. ICHORD. You stated there were approximately 4,000 people involved in the riot.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. 3,000 or 4,000.

Mr. ICHORD. Is that your estimate or the police estimate?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That has been stated in print as a police department estimate of the total number involved at the peak of the riot.

Mr. ICHORD. Of those 3,000 or 4,000, did you have a percentage of what were white and what percentage were Negro?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The preponderance were Negro, but there were some white people arrested in this riot.

Mr. SMITH. Have there been any other disturbances in the San Francisco riot?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, there have been some minor disturbances, mostly at the college level, one at the San Francisco State College.

Getting back to the riot itself, if you want a little additional detail on it, there was sniping and gunfire at the police. These incidents were in addition to the lootings as the riot spread from its inception.

At Hunter's Point, it spread to the second Negro area of our city, the Fillmore district. While police were attempting to bring the situation under control at Hunter's Point, it broke out in the Fillmore area and seesawed back and forth to the point where they were finally obliged to bring in the National Guard. They brought in several hundred highway patrolmen, and actually it was 128 hours from the time of the inception of the riot until the time of its final conclusion when the National Guard was discharged and the highway patrolmen were relieved.

Since then, by way of property damage, there have been considerable other disturbances following the riot.

For instance, we had on March 16, 1967, a minor riot in San Francisco. It occurred at Playland at the Beach, which is a concession area in San Francisco, involving mostly teenagers and again involving predominantly black students who were holding a celebration of sorts out at Playland at the Beach, and we wound up with a "Playland riot."

It is something like Coney Island, and here they went down from one end to the other, smashing windows, stealing premiums, looting cash registers, coin boxes, pinball machines, and the like.

It was a riot that lasted about an hour and one-half or two hours until the police were able to bring it under control.

Then we had another racial disturbance on May 14 in San Francisco which started again at Playland at the Beach with a fist fight between Negroes, two 18-year-old Negro youths. Rival gangs started fighting and again they broke windows and tore horses from the merry-go-round and made off with premiums and that sort of thing. It was very similar to the previous riot at Playland at the Beach.

Then, on May 15, there was another disturbance in the Hunter's Point area in which young bands of Negroes, for the most part, 16, 17, and 18 years of age, were assaulting high school students, pelting cars, and breaking windshields.

About 36 youths were involved. They even went on to Market Street and smashed a jewelry store window and made off with some \$25,000 worth of diamond rings and other jewelry that they were able to snatch from the display cases. There were no arrests in this case. They were gone by the time the police got there.

At this time they were also causing considerable difficulty at one or two of the high schools, to the point where police had to station police

patrols in the high school neighborhoods to prevent a repetition of this sort of thing.

It is rather interesting here, Mr. Chairman, to note that under the War on Poverty Program, the summer youth program, in July of 1967, less than a year ago, they sponsored a series of speeches.

Speakers were brought in. I think they were paid for their remarks, and these speakers—and one in particular was very racist, very inflammatory in his remarks—were addressing the Negro population only. It was not closed to whites, but it was a Negro area.

It was given at the Fremont Elementary School. One speaker concluded by saying, "This is the time to smash whatever you can, loot whatever you can, steal from 'whitey'. Whatever you can do to 'whitey', go forth and do it."

It was in the wake of this, the very following day, that they looted the Diamond Palace at Fifth and Mission. This is the second jewelry store to be smashed and looted within a matter of a few days.

They gave a performance on Geary Street. They put on a show for them at the Geary Theatre as part of the summer youth program. When it broke up at 4:30 in the afternoon, they poured out onto the streets and looted right in the downtown area of San Francisco, along Geary Street, looting merchants, in one instance as much as \$1,700 in merchandise.

They broke up a bar and made off with several hundred dollars' worth of whiskey. The bartender was beaten with his own whiskey bottles and he required hospitalization. They looted his cash register of nearly \$300.

Two buses were chartered for a picnic outing and on the way back they stopped at 39th and Broadway in Oakland for a traffic light. The youngsters poured out of these buses, took over a liquor store, robbed it of some \$800 or \$900 worth of liquor, intimidated the clerks, piled back on the bus with their loot, and returned to San Francisco.

The Oakland police are still trying to settle that situation and find out who was responsible. The people who were in charge contended, first, that it had not happened. The charter bus drivers verified that it had happened. They themselves had been intimidated, and the people within the summer youth program to this day have not provided the Oakland Police Department with the names of those individuals who were on that bus. They contend they don't know, yet it was they who arranged the outing.

That is the sort of lack of respect that we are getting in the form of cooperation from the Negro community or the individuals who are the leaders in community programs. Most of them are on the payroll of the War on Poverty Program.

We had one other situation on Market Street where there was a disturbance. This was in July of 1967 and shoe stores were looted, five liquor stores were looted, and they smashed the windows of two branch banks. In the course of this situation, one looter was shot but not critically hurt. This was on July 27 in San Francisco.

So, there were a series of disturbances, one after the other, taking place after the principal riot.

Mr. POOL. I understood you to say that many of the leaders were on the payroll of the "War on Poverty."

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. POOL. Do you have information as to whether or not those in charge of the program have knowledge of the fact that these people are law violators?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I don't know that there has been any investigation of their activities in that respect. As far as I know, no one within the War on Poverty has done anything about it.

Mr. POOL. I didn't hear your last answer.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. So far as I know, no action has been taken. Mr. Sizemore is still there and is still employed. He is the one who arranges the programs and brought in the inflammatory speakers. He is still in charge of the youth program at Hunter's Point.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, to put it concisely, some of these leading rioters are on the Government payroll to help them to riot.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The arrest records for the principal riot will show that among those arrested were four employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. The counterpart of this committee on the Senate side has been bringing out what you just said there.

Out in Chicago at least some people have charged that a gang of rascals were meeting in a church to perform their looting and rascality, and then the churchman said it was all a lie.

On what basis do you say some of the leaders of the rioting activities were on the OEO payroll? Has that been verified?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, I think it very indicative of that situation. The center of the riot in San Francisco and the building from which fire first opened on the police—the rioters were the first to fire and they opened from the Bayview Community Center, which is maintained as the War on Poverty youth headquarters point.

This is the Government agency from which the demonstrators first fired upon the police.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, at that point I did not understand that Mr. Sizemore, whom you mentioned as holding some position in OEO, was arrested as participating in the riot.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I don't know that Mr. Sizemore was a participant in the riot itself. Whether he was, I don't know, but I do know that since the riot he has headed up a summer youth program which has featured, among other things, these inflammatory speakers who advocate going out and stealing from "whitey."

Mr. ICHORD. Your testimony as far as Mr. Sizemore is concerned was that he was responsible for bringing in the inflammatory speakers and the riots occurred thereafter.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. And also his failure to cooperate with the police in an effort to apprehend those who were responsible for some of the activities that had occurred.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, prior to the outbreak of the first riot of September 27, 1966, was there racial agitation or incitement in the San Francisco area by Communists or other militant-type organizations?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Right. This is evidenced over a long period of time, but before going into the details, I would like to preface my remarks and the exhibits that I have here, which I am willing to

leave with the the committee, by reading from the testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, given when he was a witness before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on January 29, 1964. This testimony was heard in executive session, but it was later released. I had a copy of it and we did a news story on it under the caption "Reds and the Negro" [Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 1-A and 1-B].

Mr. Hoover stated before the House subcommittee [on February 23, 1968] that some militant Negro groups are "a distinct threat to the internal security of the Nation." As being a part of the militant groups, he named the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Black Muslims, and the Revolutionary Action Movement, known commonly as RAM. He expressed concern over black militant groups stocking guns for use against the white man.

I have a clipping on that particular story [Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 2-A and 2-B].

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I also have a copy of Mr. Hoover's remarks before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the date given.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be so received.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 1-A and B and 2-A and B," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have also an exhibit quoting Albert J. "Mickey" Lima, who is the chairman of the Communist Party for Northern California.

He is quoted in the *San Jose Mercury* [May 20, 1964], a copy of which I have here. This was an occasion when he was speaking at Stanford University. He had been brought on the campus as a speaker and the lead sentence of this story is: "Communists are definitely involved in America's civil rights revolt."

This is not an allegation being made by someone. This is Mickey Lima's own statement that Communists are definitely involved in American civil rights activities in California.

The CHAIRMAN. Who made that statement?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Albert "Mickey" Lima, the chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A., for Northern California.

The CHAIRMAN. He acknowledges Communist activity within these riots?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes. Within various demonstrations.

The CHAIRMAN. If Ed Willis, as chairman of this committee, said that, he would be gored to pieces.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It says his organization backs the movement of individual Reds and Reds have participated in the various civil rights activities throughout the country. He acknowledges this.

Mr. SMITH. I request this document be received in the record.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Supplementing Mr. Montgomery's identification of Mr. Lima, I would like to point out that he has been chairman of the district since it was created in 1957, the Communist Party district of Northern California. He is also a member of the seven-man executive board which was set up to replace the district committee after the Supreme Court upheld—

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a self-professed or identified Communist?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one, self-professed or both?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I am sorry, I don't understand you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking if this gentleman is a self-admitted or identified member of the Communist Party, which, or both.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mickey Lima is self-admitted and has been identified time and again.

The CHAIRMAN. Both?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. You call him on the phone if you want to find out something about the Communist Party—we call Mickey Lima—he is the publicly acknowledged chairman of the Communist Party.

There is nothing sub rosa about it.

“RED LEADER—Albert J. ‘Mickey’ Lima, executive secretary of Northern California’s Communist Party”—this picture was taken as he addressed 450 university students at Palo Alto.

He is regarded as the number one man in the Communist Party in Northern California.

Mr. SMITH. Mickey Lima has served on the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., for many years and was reelected at the party’s convention in June of 1966.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Along the same line, I have with me a copy of the remarks of Gus Hall, who also spoke in the Bay area. We had had a disturbance on the Stanford campus recently, and this is as recent as May 7 of this year where Gus Hall said, among other things, that “Communists do not dominate big city racial riots, ‘but we are a factor in their direction.’” That was a quote from the *Oakland Tribune* of May 7, 1968. He also was quoted: “Wherever there is struggle and movement the general fact can be accepted that party members are playing militant roles.” Hall said, “I am an old looter myself. I did time in Minneapolis for emptying retail stores during the depression. People were hungry.”

This is from Gus Hall, the general secretary.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(Document marked “Montgomery Exhibit No. 4-A” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I would like also, Mr. Chairman, to refer to an article by Roy Wilkins. He is a Negro columnist. This appeared in the *San Francisco News-Call Bulletin* on May 4, 1965, and it is captioned “Negroes Should Beware of Reds.”

The lead on the story is “Once again the Communists are seeking to use American Negroes to help bring about a revolution.”

Elsewhere he says:

In the '30s the Communists were obsessed with the idea that the “black proletariat” would arise and revolt if only it had their leadership. * * *

He also states:

THE USA Communist Party in 1941 officially urged Negroes to cease their agitation against all Jim Crow, especially that in the armed forces, until the Soviet Union was saved. The Negro cause was dumped between suns.

Well, he concludes :

It remains to be seen whether this legitimate movement, representing the aspirations of millions of Negroes who are Americans, first and always, can be perverted and made a tool to serve communism.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 4-B" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, I have knowledge of a meeting that was held in the Finnish Hall in Berkeley, a district meeting of Communist chieftains. Hall came out from New York; Mickey Lima, Roscoe Proctor, others were there during the past summer at which a program was launched.

They were a little disturbed that they were losing too many of their Negro followers who were going over to the more militant actions.

At that time it was decided a concerted effort should be made in the Bay area to bring as many Negroes back into the Communist fold as possible.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Montgomery, you referred to Mr. Wilkins as a columnist. This is the same Roy Wilkins who is the head of the NAACP, is it not?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, and it deserves to be said, that Mr. Roy Wilkins is a 100 percent American. As a matter of fact, he has sponsored, and the NAACP Council adopted, a very strong anti-Communist plan in their meetings.

Mr. Roy Wilkins is all right.

Mr. ASHBROOK. You have quoted Mickey Lima and Gus Hall, two of the top Communist Party officials, as saying the Communists have been involved in the rioting this committee has been investigating. You also quoted Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, in a warning about Communist infiltration and agitational efforts in the civil rights movements.

Could you tell me whether or not you have any evidence of Communist Party involvement in the Bay area in the Poor People's Campaign?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I have, sir.

They recently held a rally in the Oakland Auditorium to raise funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The auditorium was arranged for——

The CHAIRMAN. In Oakland?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. In Oakland, the Oakland Auditorium—to raise contributions, and they solicited contributions around the city on both sides of the Bay to secure volunteers to come here on the Poor People's March which you have just experienced and to raise money for that purpose.

Now, they announced this as early as April 29 that they were going to put on a campaign in the Bay area. It was directed primarily at students. There was not much student reaction, but there was great reaction from within the Negro community.

They were told that heading up the program for Oakland and the Bay area was a person known as Cassandra Weaver Davis, who has been active in leftwing agitation consistently. She is the ex-wife of

Phil Davis, who in turn is the son of a man who has been very active in the Communist Party.

The second person was Roscoe Proctor. Now, Roscoe Proctor is the number one man under Mickey Lima. He is Mickey Lima's chief aide in the Communist operation in Northern California.

People were told to make out their checks or their money orders or make their cash contributions to either Cassandra Weaver Davis or to Roscoe Proctor. An address was given and a phone number. The address was that of the Neighborhood House on 24th Avenue in Oakland, and that is a community project operated under the War on Poverty, funded by Federal funds, and the phone number was given and the phone bill is paid for by Federal funds.

No one knows how much money—no worth was given. How much money went in there, we don't know, but we do know they sent two chartered busloads of demonstrators or so-called "poor people" to Washington.

I know Cassandra was here as of a week ago today handing out checks to those who were going to return by bus on their own.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Getting back to Roscoe Proctor, since we know a little bit about his record and he is an official of the Communist Party, how is he connected with this Neighborhood House?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. He has made that more or less his headquarters.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is funded by Federal War on Poverty money, is it not?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It is, and the telephone bill is paid for by the Federal Government.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Was that a statement made at the Oakland Auditorium?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This was even contained in flyers and handbills.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Do you have an exhibit?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I have.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I would hope we would make that a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received for the record.

Mr. SMITH. I suggest the document submitted by Mr. Montgomery be accepted for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so accepted.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Cassandra Davis, mentioned by Mr. Montgomery, was the Midwest representative of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, according to our files.

The CHAIRMAN. That, of course, in turn is a Communist-dominated organization.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, all the hearings held so far by this committee have indicated constant harping on alleged police brutality as a means of inciting hatred of the police and government authorities.

Does your research indicate this was also the case in the San Francisco area?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, this is definitely so. There has been repeated use of the term "police brutality," particularly in the case of the *People's World*—"Bitter ghetto rites for boy killed by cop."

"S.F. ghetto blows," with reference to police brutality—scenes of alleged brutality on arrests, including arrests during a riot in San Francisco.

We have any number of issues of publications put out in the Bay area where the emphasis is continually on police brutality.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request these documents be accepted for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They are accepted.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The propagandizing of the Communist Party and front groups has been evidenced over a period of years.

To mention a couple of items, if I may refer to the 14th report of the Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities of the State of California for the year 1967, on page 11 of this report there is a paragraph which has been reprinted from the 1943 report of the same committee.

This paragraph refers to Dorothy Ray Healey, who is now chairman of the Communist Party for the Southern District of California. She is Mickey Lima's counterpart in Southern California.

This goes back to 1943, and this theme has been repeated over and over. The most repetitious allegation we encounter out there is "police brutality."

I would like to make reference to an article appearing in the *People's World* of August 11, 1947, Exhibit 7 that I have here "Police brutality fight."

In this demonstration a movement is under way to stage a picket demonstration on Saturday at 10 a.m. to protest police abuses against Negro residents in this city.

This is being staged by the Citizens Committee Against Police Terror.

A meeting was called, incidentally, and presiding was Aubrey Grossman, who was the county education director of the Communist Party. Aubrey Grossman has been known to me for a long time as a Communist functionary, and also presiding at part of the session was Oleta O'Connor Yates, who was the county Communist chairman at that time in San Francisco County. Also present were Harry Williams, the county minorities director of the Communist Party, and Al Richmond, the executive editor of the *Daily People's World*, which is the Communist publication for California.

This was as far back as August 11, 1947, at which time they were holding rallies and meetings based purely on allegations of police brutality.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the document be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It is received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, for the record, with respect to Aubrey Grossman, as mentioned by Mr. Montgomery, I would like to state

that the committee records show that Aubrey Grossman has been one of the top Communist lawyers on the West Coast for many years. He has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by at least five witnesses in testimony before this committee.

In 1945 Grossman was appointed educational director for the Communist Party in the city and county of San Francisco.

In that same year he was also alternate delegate to the important Communist Party national convention in New York City. This was a convention of 93 handpicked delegates who were obligated in advance to insist on the reconstitution of the Communist Party, the abandonment of the name "Communist Political Association," and the ouster of Earl Browder in conformity with the Duclos letter.

Aubrey Grossman also served for years as West Coast director of the Communist Party's legal front, the Civil Rights Congress. One of his first assignments in that post was to coordinate the campaign to defend the 12 Communist leaders indicted under the Smith Act.

MR. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, I believe that the conditioning of the minority against the established legal authorities in San Francisco started as a campaign when your committee held hearings in San Francisco in May of 1960.

You will recall, on that occasion, on May 13 there was a riot at the City Hall where the hearings were being held and also large demonstrations the following day on Saturday, May 14.

THE CHAIRMAN. I do indeed remember. I was there.

MR. MONTGOMERY. The riot and demonstration were under the leadership of known leaders of the Communist Party. You may recall I was assigned to that particular hearing and was present at the time of the inception of the riot.

I was within 5 feet of Inspector Maguire when he reached for the fire hose and I recognized a good many Communists present at the inception of that riot, although most of them had a faculty to get to one side after the show got on the road. They drifted over to the sidelines rather than the front lines, with the exception of perhaps Doug Wachter.

Subsequent to the riot and demonstration, there was a petition signed by professors throughout the Bay area, certain professors throughout the Bay area, charging the police with brutality.

Yet, it is my understanding that not a single professor who signed that petition was present at the hearing or demonstration. The petition was directed to the attorney general of the State of California demanding an investigation, the point being, here was an effort again to discredit the police, a signed petition by individuals who had not even witnessed the event over which they were protesting.

MR. SMITH. At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to read into the record the standard party line for police brutality from the committee's report, House Report No. 1278 of October 1961, *The Truth About the Film "Operation Abolition"*:

At a party meeting on the night of May 20, 1960, Archie Brown disclosed how the party intended to use a followup campaign with campus students as the target. He stated that the party planned to emphasize "police brutality" as a rallying cry to attract the sympathy of student groups. He pointed out that he was particularly pleased with the fact that he had been invited to speak at Stanford University, adding that he had already spoken to students at the University of California in Berkeley.* * *

Mr. Chairman, this goes on in this same vein. I would like to submit this for the record, this report.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received for the record.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, were you present at the riots at the City Hall in 1960?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I was there. I was there from the inception, during the hearings, and during the entire riot.

Mr. SMITH. To your knowledge, did the Communists use the theme of police brutality during this riot?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, they made much of the allegations of police brutality. Actually, there were only five instances that I had knowledge of, or that I witnessed, where considerable restraint and force was used effecting arrest.

Of all of the hundreds who were arrested there and taken out of there, there were only five instances, and in each instance to my mind the individual involved made outright defiance like kicking an officer in the groin or chopping an elderly man on the neck with a judo chop, a man who later suffered a heart attack.

With those five exceptions, there was neither force nor violence. Most of them would go out of their own accord. Once in a while one would go limp and they would carry him out.

I know that in one instance the following day a paper carried a by-line article by a reporter reading, in essence, "Eyewitness Account of Police Brutality" and in the fourth or fifth paragraph he said "now the police are clubbing the demonstrators at will."

Nothing could be farther from the truth. This did not occur at this riot. Actually, the man who wrote the article did not arrive at the City Hall until the riot ended, and they were mopping the water off the floor before he made an appearance.

It might be indicative that that particular writer also was active in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain and perhaps that accounts for the slant he put on his story.

As far as police brutality, what we consider police brutality, there was none.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, what is the Direct Action Group?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I might say before getting into the Direct Action Group that we did notice there in the San Francisco Bay area in the latter part of 1962 that the Communist Party had become much more active in civil rights than it had been in the past, and picketing for civil rights and minority groups became increasingly popular.

The first demonstration of any proportion was the picketing of Mel's Drive-Ins, two in San Francisco and one in Berkeley.

The organization heading the picketing was called the Direct Action Group and it demanded the employment of more representation of minority groups in the restaurants.

At this time the idea, the party policy, seemed to be to abandon the idea of the separate Negro republic and more in favor of integration picketing.

There seemed to be a change in the party direction at that time. It was during that particular time that the Direct Action Group was formed.

Mr. SMITH. Who was the head of this organization?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I refer you to the May 9, 1964, *Sun Reporter* wherein it is stated that the Direct Action Group was largely composed of students from San Francisco State College and City College and students from local high schools.

The head of the organization, Art Sheridan, was then a senior at San Francisco State College. He was one of those arrested in the Palace Hotel demonstration.

To give you a better idea who he is, this is what was reported May 9, 1964, in the *Sun Reporter*:

Starting with the student demonstrations in South Carolina in 1960, Negroes discovered that the techniques of direct action could bring faster results * * *.

* * * * *

Direct action brought into local public focus such young men as Arthur A. Sheridan, 25, a firebrand who just a few short months ago was barely known outside the environs of the San Francisco State College campus, where he is currently a senior student majoring in political science.

That is the background of Art Sheridan. He announced his candidacy for the board of supervisors in San Francisco on May 13 of last year. He was not a successful candidate.

The board of supervisors is something akin to a city council. We have a joint operation there, supervisors and councilmen; it is all one.

Sheridan was arrested in the demonstration at the Sheraton-Palace in March of 1964

I have this exhibit if you wish it.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. They undertook then [in 1964] to picket the Sheraton-Palace Hotel.

As a result of this picketing [at Mel's Drive-In] 93 arrests were made in San Francisco, and this information was documented from the *San Francisco Examiner* in an article of November 5, 1963, and Jeff Cole, a San Francisco State College student, was the general spokesman for the Direct Action Group.

We were told if we had any questions to ask of this group to put them to Jeff Cole. He became their spokesman.

Jeff Cole is the son of Lester Cole who was one of the Hollywood Ten.

Mr. SMITH. He is well known to this committee.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Is the Direct Action Group still in existence?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, it is. Well, the last reference we had to it—I would say it was late '64 or '65 that we last heard of the Direct Action Group.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be accepted for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so accepted.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, they seem to change their names every so often. They have a group under one name and then they have a new committee, an Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination, or something like that, but they are the same faces. We see the same people over and over again and invariably we will have a Patrick or Terence Hallinan acting as counsel for them or Beverly Axelrod counseling them on the side. We see the same people repeatedly.

Mr. SMITH. You made reference to an Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination. Was this group active in the civil rights agitation?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, it was. They were the primary instigators of the Sheraton-Palace demonstration. They held one demonstration outside, one in early March at which time an injunction was granted by the court to limit the number of pickets and soon they were held in violation of that injunction. There were some arrests made, and then finally they came back for a third time and it was on that occasion that they actually took over the hotel and practically ran the hotel for a few hours.

Mr. SMITH. When was the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination formed?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. As close as I can get to the date of the formation would be an article I have that appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner* on March 2, 1964, and at that time—well, there was a hotel meeting and “The wild, noisy Sunday night hotel melee ended with the arrest of 123 persons * * *.”

This is referring to the initial riot of demonstrators at the hotel, in which two policemen, incidentally, were injured in making arrests. A demonstration leader claimed there were 12 people bruised by police, but in the developments there, Mike Myerson, 23, and Tracy Sims, 18, were spokesmen for the Ad Hoc Committee. They identified themselves as members of the W. E. B. DuBois Club which we have described at times over the past as a Marxist study group. They were among those arrested.

Myerson claimed the Ad Hoc Committee had been negotiating for nearly 3 months, so that would put it 3 months prior to March or preferably around the end of 1963 or the early part of 1964 for the formation of the Ad Hoc Committee.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so received.

(Document marked “Montgomery Exhibit No. 11” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery has mentioned the name of Michael Eugene Myerson. I would like to enter into the record information from the committee’s files concerning Mr. Myerson.

(The information follows:)

MICHAEL EUGENE MYERSON

Mike Myerson is a 28-year-old native of Washington, D.C. He gained his first solid experience at agitation as a member and later chairman of SLATE, a radical student organization at the University of California. From organizing protests against ROTC and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Myerson graduated to the leadership of the U.S. delegation to the Communist 1962 World Youth Festival. After the festival, Myerson filed a number of reports on it from abroad. No information is available on his whereabouts or activities from then until the fall of 1963 when he turned up in San Francisco.

On November 3, 1963, Myerson was arrested at a demonstration at Mel's Drive-In. He was charged with disturbing the peace and trespassing. Myerson identified himself as cochairman of the Ad Hoc Committee Against Discrimination.

In 1964 Myerson was busy helping organize the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs. The *People's World* reported that Myerson was a leading participant in the coast-wide conference of socialist-oriented young people sponsored by the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of San Francisco, San Francisco State College, Berkeley, West Los Angeles, and the Youth Action Union of Los Angeles, held March 21-22, 1964. The national founding convention for the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs was held in June 1964. Myerson was a member of the national coordinating committee for the convention and a staff member of *THE CONVENER*, official newsletter for the national coordinating committee. He was subsequently appointed West Coast representative for the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA).

In January 1965 the DCA published a pamphlet by Myerson entitled "The United States War in Vietnam." It was reviewed in the CPUSA's monthly propaganda organ *New World Review* as a "useful account of our aggressive war in Vietnam."

In May 1965 Myerson was given the post of international secretary for the DCA. In July he attended the Communist World Peace Congress at Helsinki, Finland.

He and DCA member Harold Supriano, with Chris Koch, an announcer for radio station WBAI, and freelance writer Richard Ward, sought out members of the North Vietnamese Peace Committee at the congress and requested permission to visit North Vietnam. The invitation from the North Vietnamese was extended and the four spent the last week of August and the first week in September in North Vietnam.

Myerson was made an honorary nephew of Ho Chi Minh and since he returned to the United States he has sported a Viet Cong cap and carried a Viet Cong flag at demonstrations protesting the war in Vietnam.

In 1966 Michael Myerson joined the staff of the Communist Party publishing house, International Publishers.

Mike Myerson is currently director of the Tri-Continental Information Center in New York City. He has held that post since the formation of the center was announced in the spring of 1967. The declared intention of Tri-Continental is to propagandize on behalf of "national liberation" movements fighting throughout the world against "US colonialism and neo-colonialism."

Mr. SMITH. What was the primary purpose of the Ad Hoc Committee?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Theirs was one of strictly agitation and picketing, not only the Sheraton-Palace and the various drive-ins, but they also assisted in other demonstrations including the picketing of the *Oakland Tribune* in November of 1964.

Mr. SMITH. Were you present at the demonstration sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination at the Sheraton-Palace in San Francisco in early March of 1964?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I was there from the inception, from the time they broke into the hotel proper until the last one was carted off by the police around 4 o'clock the following morning.

I witnessed the functioning within the hotel. Myerson and a young Negress by the name of Tracy Sims were the motivating instigators and had command of the situation, particularly Miss Sims who was something of a major domo that night.

If you are familiar with the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, it has a long corridor leading almost an entire block along New Montgomery Street.

There are three principal entrances, one on Jessie Street, one on Market Street, and one on New Montgomery Street.

I was flanking Miss Sims most of the evening. She would confer with Myerson and walk down one end of the hall and give a command, "I want 50 people to block this door right now" and not only 50, but

closer to 75, of the demonstrators, mostly students, blocked off any ingress or egress of the Jessie Street entrance.

She went back and conferred again with Myerson and then walked to the Market Street entrance and said, "I want 75 demonstrators to block this door," and they actually had closer to 100 or so who sat there and no one could come in or out.

Following further consultation with Myerson, they decided to block the main entrance itself. She said, "I want the rest of you to block this main entrance"—they sat there, several hundred of them.

In the meanwhile, there were cigarettes burning on the furniture and rugs and some demonstrators were asleep in the halls—stretched out asleep.

It went on from mid-evening, 9 o'clock, until 4 o'clock the next morning.

People were unable to come or go. It finally got to the point where the police themselves took over because they said it constituted, among other things, a fire hazard, and it was on that basis that the police, not the hotel, but the police themselves, moved in and evacuated the demonstrators.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Montgomery, as I recall the demonstrators when they were brought to the trial they received stringent sentences.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. In advance of this demonstration, the Ad Hoc Committee put out flyers giving instructions on how to link arms to make it difficult for the police to remove them and then, once you were separated from the crowd, you were to go limp and compel them to carry you out [Montgomery Exhibit No. 12].

Again, it identified Tracy Sims and Mike Myerson, along with a fellow named Roy Ballard, as the principals of this demonstration, the people to look to. This was demonstrated prior to the arrests.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Do you remember what sentence Tracy Sims received?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. They received sentences anywhere up to—I think the most stringent sentence was to Dr. Thomas Burbridge, a Negro professor from the University of California medical school. I believe he was given a 9-month sentence originally, and then that was later reduced to 90 days and subsequently I think he did serve 30 days.

But some of them, for the most part, were given 30 days.

Tracy Sims I believe was given a 60-day sentence, but she skipped San Francisco and went to New York—

Mr. ASHBROOK. A true leader.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. There is a warrant out for her. Police officials feel as long as it is on the record she will not come back to San Francisco and they would just as soon keep it that way.

So, as far as I recall, Tracy Sims never served a day in jail.

Mr. SMITH. Does this organization presently exist?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. So far as I know, no. To the best of my recollection, there was a public announcement along in February of 1965 announcing that the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination had been dissolved.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that the document submitted by Mr. Montgomery be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 12" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. You have already discussed the question of arrests at this demonstration, have you not?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. There were a number of arrests. To the best of my recollection, they were in excess of 200.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any further identification of Mike Myerson other than what you have given?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I know he has been active in the Berkeley area since around 1959. As a student he was very active in a leftwing group on campus known as SLATE. He has traveled to North Vietnam. He traveled there with a man named Harold Supriano who also was arrested in the Palace Hotel demonstration.

Supriano at that time was an employee of the California Prison Authority as a parole officer. He subsequently was discharged.

He next landed a job as a social worker with the county welfare organization and he has been discharged from that job because of a false statement with regard to a leave. He took a leave saying he was going to go to New York and instead he went with Mike Myerson to Hanoi, North Vietnam.

Supriano and Myerson both traveled the West Coast considerably, showing anti-United States films and anti-allies—pro-Viet Cong films throughout the coastal area.

One of Myerson's pet possessions is a metal ring which he says is made from metal of an allied plane shot down in Vietnam. He was very proud of that.

So he has been around the Bay area in and out a great deal and has been associated with such individuals, I might say, as Supriano who does have a Communist-affiliation background.

Mr. SMITH. A few minutes ago you mentioned the name of Roy Ballard.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Can you further identify Mr. Roy Ballard?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have an exhibit that refers to Roy Ballard [*People's World*, March 14, 1964, Montgomery Exhibit No. 13]. On November 14, 1963, he was arrested by the San Francisco Police Department at a demonstration under the sponsorship of the Direct Action Group, and this was the demonstration at Mel's Drive-In. Ballard was a functionary at that demonstration. He was one of the guiding lights at the Mel's Drive-In demonstration.

On March 1, 1964, he was arrested at the Sheraton-Palace at the demonstration I referred to, and on March 14 he was again arrested while participating in a demonstration at the Cadillac agency on Automotive Row on Van Ness Avenue. This demonstration was sponsored jointly by the NAACP with the support of the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination. This was prior to its dissolution.

On May 17, 1964, he was arrested at the Army base at the Presidio for picketing on the Vietnam issue.

This is not unusual. We see these same people picketing over and over again.

I have witnessed some of these people picketing or demonstrating for two separate, unrelated causes on the same day.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point, I would like to read into the record the committee's file information concerning Harold Supriano:

HAROLD SUPRIANO

On June 24, 1966, Edward Montgomery, reporter for the *San Francisco Examiner*, appeared as a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and testified under oath that he knew Harold Supriano to be a member of the Communist Party.

In 1962 Harold Supriano was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Communist Eighth World Youth Festival held in Helsinki, Finland.

Supriano was a member of the national coordinating committee and Southern representative of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America in 1964. In 1965 Harold Supriano, Mike Myerson, Chris Koch, and Richard Ward attended the World Peace Congress in Helsinki, Finland.

While at the congress, the four sought out members of the North Vietnamese Peace Committee and asked for and received permission to visit North Vietnam. They spent the last week in August and the first week of September 1965 as the guest of the North Vietnamese.

At the time of the trip to Helsinki and Hanoi, Supriano was employed as a social worker by the San Francisco welfare department. When he sought a leave of absence from his job in the summer of 1965, Supriano reportedly stated that he had to go to New York "because his parents were ill." Instead he went to a Communist peace congress and then, in defiance of State Department travel regulations, he visited Hanoi.

Supriano subsequently was dismissed from his position for having made false statements when applying for a leave of absence.

Do you have anything else to add to the demonstration at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have a list of individuals, many of the names of individuals who were arrested. We refer to them in San Francisco as red diaper babies.

A good many of them are individuals who have grown up in the influence of communism right in their own home and also some of whom are members of the W. E. B. DuBois Club, which we in San Francisco consider to be a Communist-front organization. They are also referred to as second-generation Communists for the most part.

I might quote, if I may, from an issue of *TOCSIN* magazine dated March 18, 1964 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 14].

These are among the persons arrested at the demonstration in San Francisco—

Mr. SMITH. Would you identify the *TOCSIN* magazine.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. *TOCSIN* magazine is no longer in publication, but it was an independent publication put out in the Bay area.

It was known as the West's leading anti-Communist weekly. It is highly regarded for its authenticity and its veracity and its overall factual knowledge that it has reflected over a period of years.

Mr. SMITH. Go ahead.

Mr. MONTGOMERY [reads].

David L. Jenkins, 18, son of old-time-Communist Hyman (David) Jenkins who ran the California Labor School, a now defunct Communist training center.

Bettina Aptheker, 19, daughter of top Communist Party theoretician Herbert Aptheker.

She has since disclosed the fact that she has been a member of the Communist Party all her adult life. She makes no bones about being an avowed Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. This was made after a Supreme Court decision. They had the usual ruse of trying to deceive, but the minute the Supreme Court made it legal, she openly proclaimed her Communist Party affiliation.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It came within 48 hours of the Supreme Court decision. [Continues reading:]

Paul D. Richards, 19, son of identified Communist Harvey Richards of Atherton, California.

I might say Harvey Richards, on the night of the Sheraton-Palace Hotel demonstration, was there with his camera, as he is so often, filming each particular arrest and he has a knack of putting film together for propaganda purposes used elsewhere other than the Bay area. [Continues reading:]

Steven J. Kahn, 22, son of Communist writer Albert E. Kahn who has resided for long periods in the Soviet Union.

Nora B. Lapin, 21, daughter of the late Adam Lapin who was a correspondent for the Daily Worker and the People's World.

Carl Granich, 24, son of present-day People's World and Worker columnist Mike Gold.

* * * * *

Kipp Dawson, 18, daughter of Mrs. Ann Dawson of Berkeley who has a lengthy record of support for such causes as the Communist People's World. Miss Dawson was secretary of the pro-Castro Committee to Uphold the Right to Travel during the furor surrounding an illegal visit to Cuba last July by 59 Americans.

Also present and arrested were :

Three of the sons of avowed Marxist attorney Vincent Hallinan : Matthew, 23, Terence, 27, and Conn. 21. Terence Hallinan is director of the San Francisco School of Social Science, a Marxist training center at 345 Franklin St. Vincent Hallinan arranged bail money for 67 of the arrested demonstrators, including his sons.

I might say Kipp Dawson was the coordinator of the big anti-Vietnam demonstration held in San Francisco a year ago. [Continues reading:]

Other arrested pickets included : Caryl Esteves, 20, and Robert L. Kaffke, 36, who were both visitors to Cuba on the Castro-supported tour.

Karol A. Burkett, 20, secretary of the San Francisco School of Social Science.

Mark Comfort, 30, husband of the former Gloria Black who is the daughter of two identified Oakland Communists, Gladys G. and Robert Ogg Black. In 1952, Comfort, also known as Mark Moody, was the center of an agitation case directed by the East Bay Civil Rights Congress, a cited Communist front.

Allan C. Sheffield, 31, a Communist Party adherent from Detroit who participated in an anti-nuclear-defense demonstration in 1961 staged in Livermore, Calif., and is a former member of the University of California Slate party.

David L. Radcliffe, 29, an Alameda County social worker who has been active in the Communist Party in San Francisco, Radcliffe's address at 635 Redwood St., S.F., is listed in the March 7 issue of the People's World as the scene of an annual celebration of the paper's staff and supporters scheduled for March 13.

Others arrested were [continues reading] :

Irving Fromer, 50, a teacher at the Communist California Labor school, who supported clemency in the Communist-directed campaign to save the lives of atom spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1952.

Thomas Brewer, 38, a San Francisco physician and an admitted reader of the People's World who heads an organization called the Citizens Committee for Nuclear Disarmament.

Richard K. Manderfeld, 19, a DuBois Club adherent and representative of the youth auxiliary of the San Francisco American Russian Institute, a Communist front.

Brian Shannon, 27, former chairman of the University of California Young Socialist Alliance, youth section of the Trotskyite-Communist Socialist Workers Party. Shannon was spokesman in March 1962 for a group called the Ad Hoc Committee for March 23, which picketed during the visit to Berkeley of President Kennedy. The demonstration was staged to protest the Kennedy Administration's record in foreign policy, integration and civil liberties, Shannon said.

Those were some of the red diaper babies. We have a few more who were also present at the so-called sleep-in at the hotel, as they called it, and also along Automotive Row [*TCCSIN*, March 24, 1964, "A Look at Hotel's Big Sleep-In; Starobin Arrested at Cadillac," Montgomery Exhibit No. 15].

It might be interesting to note, Mr. Chairman, that during this demonstration at the Sheraton-Palace one of those on the scene standing at the sidelines was Louis Goldblatt, who is an identified member of the Communist Party and represents the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. He was on hand to participate in the protest, but did not go inside to the best of my knowledge.

Among those arrested was Goldblatt's 18-year-old daughter Elizabeth.

You had other W. E. B. DuBois Club members who were there, such as Bettina Aptheker, whom I have already mentioned, Revels Cayton, and William H. Chester. Cayton has been identified as a member of the party and William H. Chester is known as a Communist-front adherent.

Also arrested at the Automotive Row demonstration was Robert S. Starobin, 24. He is the son of the former *Daily Worker* foreign editor, Joseph Starobin; and Bruce W. Benner, 24, son of Helen Benner, who was secretary for the subversive Civil Rights Congress.

We go on. I have a number of other names, if you are interested in them. Among others arrested were:

JOHN L. KELLEY, JR.: Arrested in May 1960, during the riots against the San Francisco hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

JOEL GEIER: National secretary in 1962 of the Young People's Socialist League and delegate in 1962 to the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation National Convention.

HEATHER EVANS: A booster of the Communist People's World.

JAMES STEWART BENNETT: Recipient this month of a racial relations internship from the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, reported a few days before his arrest.

SUSAN CURRIER: Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee to End the War in Viet Nam at the University of California and a member of the UC Slate party. Announced a protest against the recent Bay Area visit of Viet Nam's anti-Communist former "first lady" Madam Nhu.

RICHARD CURRIER: President in 1960 of the UC Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Spent a month in Communist Cuba in 1960. Spokesman for a UC group soliciting illegal visitors to the Castro-held island. A member of the editorial board of *Root and Branch*, published in Berkeley.

LINDA CHOWN: Daughter of identified Oakland Communist Paul S. Chown. Mr. Chown has been active in Communist affairs for more than two decades and in 1954 was secretary for a so-called "Fight Back Committee Against the HCUA."

KAROL BURKETT: Her mother, Mrs. Evelyn Burkett, is a former member of the Southern California chapter of the National Council of Arts Sciences and Professions and has been scheduled as speaker at Communist forums, according to the *People's World*. Miss Burkett is now secretary of a Marxist school, the San Francisco School of Social Science.

ARLON REX TUSSING, JR: Formerly a member of the Young Socialist League, he was once refused an Army security clearance. Now an assistant professor of economics at San Francisco State College.

MARCO SCHNECK: A witness at the Los Angeles hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1962, he refused to discuss Communist Party affiliations or his role as an organizer for the 1962 Communist World Youth Festival.

ARTHUR A. SHERIDAN: Head of an organization in 1963 called the San Francisco Direct Action Group.

NORMAN B. CHASTAIN: Arrested Jan. 29, 1964, for ripping a civil defense shelter sign in San Francisco City Hall. A member of the W.E.B. DuBois Club.

ARTHUR GOLDBERG: Present chairman of the UC Slate party, he was arrested in a demonstration against capital punishment outside San Quentin prison.

MICHAEL BERRY: A self-declared member of the "peace movement."

And there are several others here whose names the committee may be interested in that will be included in the exhibit if you so desire.

Mr. SMITH. I request the documents be received for the record.

Mr. ASHBROOK (presiding). They will be received for the record.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 13, 14, and 15," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I mention these just to give you an idea of the type of individuals who are the agitators, the instigators of these demonstrations.

Mr. ASHBROOK. From your long experience in this investigative work, it came as no surprise to see these people, I am sure.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I might say also, in the course of that demonstration, we had some entertainment that was put on by Malvina Reynolds and others. She was there with her guitar singing "Little Boxes" and a few other songs. You might be interested in the fact that Malvina Reynolds was a participant in the demonstration, but was not among those arrested.

Mr. SMITH. At this point I would like to put in the record information from the committee's file concerning Malvina Reynolds.

Malvina Reynolds was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Kenneth Ownsworth May, a former official of the Communist Party, on December 22, 1950.

She has quite a lengthy record of activity in the Communist Party and front organizations, and I would like to enter this as an exhibit for the file.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 16" follows:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 16

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Subject: MALVINA REYNOLDS.

This Committee makes NO EVALUATION in this report. The following is only a compilation of recorded public material contained in our files and should not be construed as representing the results of any investigation or finding by the Committee. The fact that the Committee has information as set forth below on the subject of this report is not per se an indication that this individual, organization, or publication is subversive, unless specifically stated.

Symbols in parentheses after the name of any organization or publication mentioned herein indicate that the organization or publication has been cited as being subversive by one or more Federal authorities. The name of each agency is denoted by a capital letter, as follows: A—Attorney General of the United

States; C—Committee on Un-American Activities; I—Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; J—Senate Judiciary Committee; and, S—Subversive Activities Control Board. The numerals after each letter represent the year in which that agency first cited the organization or publication. (For more complete information on citations, see this Committee's "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications.")

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

On December 22, 1950, Malvina Reynolds was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Kenneth Ownsworth May, a former official of the Communist Party, in public testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. [HCUA "Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Radiation Laboratory and Atomic Bomb Project at the University of California, Berkeley, Calif.," Volume 3, December 20, 21, and 22, 1950.]

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATIONS

1948- DAILY PEOPLE'S WORLD (C-1941; S-1957); later known as People's World
1960 (C-1959)

Contributor of article and poems [Daily People's World: October 13, 1948, p. 5; February 8, 1954, p. 7; May 19, 1954, p. 7; June 21, 1954, p. 7; and People's World, April 30, 1960, p. 8]

Scheduled entertainer at DPW's annual "Meet the Staff Party," and Fund Drive, July 23, 1954 [Daily People's World, July 22, 1954, p. 6]

To entertain at the Third Annual Cultural Carnival for the benefit of DPW, August 1, 1954 [Daily People's World, July 27, p. 6, July 29, p. 7 and July 30, 1954, p. 2]

COMMUNIST FRONTS

1948- INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE PARTY (C-1957)

1952 Member, State Central Committee, 1948 & 1952, Independent Progressive Party, Long Beach Section [the IPP is the California branch of the Progressive Party (C-1957; I-1956)] [Members of . . . State Central Committees and County Committee Chairmen, compiled by the California Secretary of State, August 7, 1948, p. 43 and August 2, 1952, p. 38]

Candidate for City Council, 3rd District (Long Beach) [Daily People's World, May 24, 1951, p. 10]

Chairman, Long Beach Section of the Independent Progressive Party [Daily People's World, September 24, 1951, p. 7]

1954 AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN (A-1948; C-1942; I-1956)

Master of ceremonies at the "Festival of Nationalities" to be held in Berkeley, California on October 23 by the Northern California Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (C-1957), a regional organization of ACPFB [Daily People's World, October 22, 1954, p. 6]

1954- CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL (A-1948; I-1956; S-1957)

1955 Scheduled entertainer: Open House, July 11, 1954, inaugurating the Summer Term; Open House, September 26, 1954, marking the Fall opening of the school; and Open House, January 16, 1955 [Daily People's World, July 8, 1954, p. 8, September 20, 1954, p. 7 and January 7, 1955, p. 6]

Scheduled speaker, July 21, 1954, to discuss "typical propaganda methods and materials used in 'the propaganda war for the American mind, and how to fight for the people.'" [Daily People's World, July 19, 1954, p. 7]

Scheduled to lead panel on folk music at its two day American Folksong Forum in October [Daily People's World, September 17, 1954, p. 6 and September 30, 1954, p. 7]

Her collection of songs, "Songs in my Pocket," printed by the California Labor School and sold at the school [Daily People's World, October 11, 1954, p. 7]

To conduct Folk Music Forum, No. 3, during Winter Term, 1955 [Daily People's World, January 13, 1955, p. 7]

Scheduled to substitute for Adam Lapin at Forum on the Geneva Big Four Meeting, August 3, 1955 [Daily People's World, August 2, 1955, p. 7]

Chairman and coordinator of series of forums held during the summer, with final session to be held August 11, 1955 [Daily People's World, August 8, 1955, p. 7]

1954- NATIONAL GUARDIAN (C-1956)

1966 Bay Area representative [Daily People's World, September 3, 1954, p. 11 (ad) ; National Guardian, June 6, 1955, p. 2]

To entertain at a National Guardian benefit, "Spring Sing," April 24, 1955, San Francisco [Daily People's World, April 21, 1955, p. 7]

Member, Northern California Guardian Committee, in charge of subscriptions and reservations for the National Guardian banquet, May 13, 1955 [Daily People's World, April 25, 1955, p. 7]

Writer of letter to the editor asking him to thank the scores of people who made the San Francisco Guardian banquet on May 13 a great success financially [National Guardian, June 6, 1955, p. 2]

Handled arrangements for a Guardian benefit picnic held July 31, 1955 [Daily People's World, August 2, 1955, p. 6]

Mistress of Ceremonies, National Guardian Annual Dinner, June 28, 1959, San Francisco [National Guardian, June 15, 1959, p. 9 (ad) and June 22, 1959, p. 10 (ad) ; handbill, June 28, 1959]

To star in a "Peace Concert" to be held by the Southern California Friends of the National Guardian, January 29, 1966, Culver City [Ads in National Guardian, January 1, 1966, p. 12 and January 22, 1966, p. 6]

1967 SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE (C-1967)

Sponsor [HCUA report, "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week (April 8-15, 1967)," released March 31, 1967, p. 35; list of West Coast Sponsors issued by the Los Angeles Coordinating Center of the Spring Mobilization Committee]

Entertained at its spring mobilization rally at Kezar Stadium in San Francisco, April 15, 1967 [National Guardian, April 8, 1967, p. 7 (ad) ; New York Times, April 13, 1967, p. C-29 (ad) ; People's World, April 22, 1967, p. 2]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, were you present at the Sheraton-Palace when these arrests were made?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I was. We spoke earlier of Mike Myerson, and I might say that as of March 13, 1964 [according to an article in the *News-Call Bulletin* of that date] he spoke at a rally at the University of California on the eve of that major demonstration at the Sheraton-Palace in which he said: "We'll do our damndest to have the whole (San Francisco) power structure have a nervous breakdown."

With reference to Communists, he said, "Whether Communists join the movement doesn't bother us. We'll welcome them, or anybody." Communists were welcome to join in the demonstration and he was soliciting their participation at that time.

Mr. SMITH. May I request the document be received for the record?

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 17" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I was at the Sheraton-Palace, and Tracy Sims was the major domo taking orders from Myerson and conferring occasionally with Roy Ballard.

Mr. SMITH. Were there other organizations whose membership aided the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, the previous exhibit lists them. The NAACP for one, and there were other organizations that tied in with them.

Mr. SMITH. Was there a statement made by one Mark L. Sullivan of the hotel association?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, Mr. Sullivan was speaking for the hotel association expressing—well, I don't have the statement, but he was very vehement in his denunciation of what had transpired and the fact that he was satisfied in his own mind that this was a Communist-inspired demonstration.

Mr. SMITH. Do you agree with Mr. Sullivan's statement, Mr. Montgomery?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I do.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, I have an article from the *San Francisco Examiner* of March 16, 1964, which bears your byline.

I will hand you this article and ask you to read it into the record.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, I don't know if you would want me to read the entire article. My lead on this article was:

A new breed of young Revolutionaries has infiltrated the Bay area civil rights movement. . .

They represent a cross section of Marxist-oriented or socialist-indoctrinated organizations, some with pronounced Communist leanings, whose objectives include use of the racial problem to foment revolution.

This became apparent in the wake of the Sheraton-Palace Hotel disorders.

By actual count, 91 of 167 persons arrested already were known to intelligence agents as party members or party adherents and sympathetic to party causes.

I go on to mention the Marxist-Leninist school as some of the activity at the various colleges in the Bay area where these people came from and asked the question: Why was it purposely designated the area of "take-over," the hotels, and the answer was that the "steadily increasing Negro population affords a 'built-in vehicle'—a 'cause' for action."

Among the different organizations involved were the W. E. B. DuBois Club, the Student Peace Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Young People's Socialist League, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Freedom Now, National Committee To Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, SLATE, and SCOPE—all within the students' Ad Hoc Committee.

There were that many organizations combined in this one Ad Hoc Committee demonstration.

There were also demonstrations. Some of these people that participated we had seen earlier in the demonstrations by Women for Peace, the anti-House Committee demonstrations and the now defunct Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Among the top party functionaries who were in and about and around the sidelines during these demonstrations were such individuals as Archie Brown, Douglas Wachter, Harvey Richards, Lou Goldblatt.

Doug Wachter was one of the ringleaders in the riot at City Hall in 1960 when you were there.

Of all of the student groups involved, the three-chapter Dubois Club is the most vociferous.

The leaders are named, and I go into the history of who they are.

I mention also that Tracy Sims had served as the local secretary for the DuBois Club in San Francisco.

The rest of it is pretty much history as to what I have already testified to here.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It will be received at this point.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 18" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. The Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination, did it engage in any other demonstrations in San Francisco?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I referred to the demonstrations on Automotive Row, where the various car agencies were picketed.

These demonstrations were sponsored by the NAACP, but the Ad Hoc Committee joined in the demonstrations giving their support and picketing.

Incidentally, the chairman earlier expressed concern about the charges of police brutality. Here again the *People's World* of San Francisco [March 7, 1964, issue] was in the forefront with article after article and headlines such as "Police brutality charged; 120 demonstrators jailed." On this occasion there was nothing that could resemble police brutality, anything more than their pulling the demonstrators apart. In their linking of arms police had to use a certain amount of force to disengage them from the person next to them; but from that point on, if they went limp, they were carried to the patrol wagon. No one was clubbed in this demonstration. No one put up that much opposition.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I am sure you are like many of us who are all amazed that civil rights demonstrators who are ordered to disperse do not respond. And the police officers do what they are obviously supposed to do, that is, to carry out their orders. If this means any kind of contact whatsoever, pulling away, subduing, or any type of activity affirmatively by the police officer, it is always considered brutality. They put themselves in the position of almost demanding action be taken, and then any action is deemed brutality.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Invariably when an act of brutality is depicted in the *People's World* or other press, you see one action by a police officer. You may not see what preceded it.

There was wide distribution given to a picture taken by Douglas Wachter during the recent riots in Oakland at the induction center, which shows a demonstrator being clubbed. He actually was. He was knocked out, but they don't show that prior to that this same demonstrator threw a lighted magnesium flare into the face of a highway patrolman and was in the act of lighting a second one. You don't ever see that. You only see a man being clubbed and falling to the pavement.

Mr. SMITH. I would request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ASHBROOK. It is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 19" follows:)

Saturday, March 7, 1964

People's World 3

Police brutality charged; 120 demonstrators jailed

By CARL BLOICE

SAN FRANCISCO — The management of San Francisco's big swan Sheraton Palace hotel tried to go to court last weekend in an effort to disperse a demonstration against the hotel's racial hiring policies. But it didn't work.

Instead, the new tactic resulted in the largest total of civil rights arrests in the city's history and brought the prospect of even more determined demonstrations this weekend if negotiations for more than a token hiring of Negroes in varied positions are not successful. There is also a threat of nationwide demonstrations against the Sheraton chain.

On Sunday night (March 1) 120 Negro and white demonstrators (plus several bystanders and three passing sailors) were hauled off to jail following three different methods of direct action protest, some hurried (and, as it turned out, improper) legal maneuvering by the hotel and a raft of charges and counter charges that put the Negro freedom movement back in the San Francisco headlines.

The arrests also brought detailed charges of brutality against San Francisco's police department — charges that Police Chief Thomas Cahill sought vigorously to deny.

The Palace Hotel incident hit the headlines close on the heels of the Congress of Racial Equality's "shop in" campaign against Lucky Stores, which ended last week in a formal agreement between CORE and the Lucky management on hiring practices.

The Palace hotel protest was conducted by the Ad Hoc Committee Against Discrimination. This group was joined later by CORE, and by the time it was all over Comedian Dick Gregory and a number of the Negro community's top leaders were behind bars.

What the hotel tried to do was obtain a temporary restraining order against the pickets, after filing a damage suit against the leaders. The injunction gambit was thrown out of court in less than 24 hours, however, because — it turned out — the demonstrators had been improperly served — not given proper notice

that such legal action had been taken against them. Not, however, before police had used the interlude to pile up a record total of 120 arrests.

The pickets, as they were carted off to jail, sang somewhat prophetically, "Ain't gonna let no injunction turn me around, turn me around . . ."

MANAGEMENT STUBBORN

The charge against the Sheraton Palace is fairly simple. The Ad Hoc committee says the hotel has 550 employees, of which only 33 are Negroes — all in menial positions.

The events culminating in Sunday night's arrests followed a meeting last Saturday (Feb. 29) between the hotel management and the committee.

Miss Tracy Sims later said hotel spokesmen pointed to nine Negroes hired since the protests began as an example of their intentions and stubbornly refused to sign an agreement.

The negotiators left the conference room. A few hours later they were served subpoenas. They were being sued for \$50,000 for disturbing hotel guests.

The 18 year old Miss Sims called the action "a breach of faith" as no mention of legal action had been made during the negotiations.

FOUR NAMED

Named in the suit were Michael Myerson, Mrs. Linda Bensussen, Roy Ballard and Miss Sims. They were named as leaders of the Ad Hoc group. The committee is made up of the Direct Action Group, the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of Berkeley and San Francisco, Youth for Jobs of Oakland and San Francisco, the Citizens Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and the Berkeley Committee Against Racial Discrimination.

That evening (Saturday) over 160 demonstrators joined the picket line in front of the hotel.

There were no policemen anywhere in sight except plainclothes types.

The young demonstrators paraded around for two hours singing, "We Shall Not Be Moved," and chanting "Freedom Now." A crowd formed on the street.

Later the demonstrators

moved in groups of 10 into the hotel lobby and took silent positions with their placards. Still no uniformed officers.

As the group filed into the lobby a middle-aged man leaned against the bell captain's desk, pointed to a picket and said, "There's a nigger lover."

A Negro and white couple stood mute in the main corridor. A hotel guest walked up and said to the girl, "If you were my daughter, I'd kill you."

At 9:15 the group was seated on the lobby floor singing.

JUDGE ACTS

A few miles away in the plush Marina District home of Judge Francis McCarty action was being taken that the hotel management hoped would bring the siege to an end. The judge scribbled a restraining order against the pickets on a regular piece of typing paper. The document was sped to the hotel in a patrol car.

When it arrived there were policemen everywhere. Squad cars and paddy wagons jammed New Montgomery street. Two police dogs were held on leash nearby.

At the urging of their leaders the demonstrators rose from the lobby floor and filed outside.

Outside, a few minutes later, the group, now numbering about 300, sang "We Shall Overcome" one last time and left the scene.

At 6 p. m. the following day (Sunday, March 1) 100 pickets appeared at the hotel intending to leave without engaging in any civil disobedience.

ARRESTS START

This time plainclothesmen had been replaced by uniformed officers. There was another hasty maneuver and from the pen of the same judge up came another injunction. The new order prohibited any more than three pickets in front of the building and five on the side.

This time the demonstrators refused to move. They were ordered away and the officers began to place them under arrest. Each went limp.

Suddenly Gregory appeared among the demonstrators, his attorney Terry A. Francois at his side. Francois is former

branch president of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Quickly they were hustled away.

Then Dr. Thomas Burbridge, present NAACP president and chairman of the United San Francisco Freedom Movement, a cigar clenched between his teeth, went limp and was dragged away.

ROUGH HANDLING

When it was all over no one appeared to have been hurt — except every Negro male in the demonstration had been handled roughly.

One was socked under the eye by a husky officer. Another was smashed against the side of the wagon by an officer who hit him in the face repeatedly. But the favorite tactic appeared to be the thought-to-be concealed blows to the testicles.

A few hours later Percy Jones, co-chairman of the Berkeley chapter of CORE, limped out of jail complaining of great pain in the groin.

The arrests were completed at 8 p. m. At 10:30 p. m. carloads of CORE members from the Berkeley community and Berkeley campus chapter began unloading a new group in front of the hotel.

On the now-deserted sidewalk 40 pickets paraded silently as is the custom with the organization.

At 1:45 a.m. half the demonstrators filed through the lobby of the hotel. Just as they reassembled outside a platoon of officers started up New Montgomery st. They moved in quickly and hustled the CORE demonstrators into the wagons.

TO PLEAD MARCH 16

Once again the rough treatment was meted out to the Negro males.

At 11 a.m. Monday, the 120 demonstrators appeared in the courtroom of Judge Joseph P. Kennedy. Their cases were continued until March 16, when they will enter pleas.

A battery of prominent attorneys is representing the demonstrators. It includes: Francis J. McTernan, James Hornsdon, Benjamin Dreyfus, Mrs. Beverly Axelrod, John Dearman, Douglas Stewart, Allen Brotsky, Robert W. Plath, Joseph R. Grodin and Willie Brown.

MR. SMITH. Do you have anything else to offer in connection with this demonstration?

MR. MONTGOMERY. I might say this, that there was a plea made to drop the charges, the arrest charges of these pickets, and Police Chief Thomas Cahill—well, I have the article here.

I am reading from the *SF News-Call Bulletin* of March 10 [1964]:

Police Chief Thomas Cahill today bluntly rebuffed pleas to drop charges against the howling, jeering demonstrators arrested at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel.

Right away a movement started to grant them amnesty, but it did not go over. The same thing always occurs—forget about it, let them go, but in this instance the police and the district attorney, Thomas Lynch, held firm, and prosecutions were had and in almost every instance there was a conviction.

MR. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the document be received in the record.

MR. ASHBROOK. It will be received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 20" and retained in committee files.)

MR. ASHBROOK. You may proceed.

MR. SMITH. Have you made a survey or study of the *People's World*, the Communist Party publication on the West Coast?

MR. MONTGOMERY. Yes, but I find I have one other exhibit here concerning the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination.

On September 4, 1964, the Ad Hoc Committee staged a demonstration at the *Oakland Tribune* in Oakland. There were 56 pickets present and among those recognized on the line—and I, myself, recognized these people—were:

Tracy Sims, Mike Myerson, Harold and Carol Supriano, Roscoe Proctor, Conn Hallinan, Terence Hallinan, Frances Tandy, and Margaret Lima.

An article appeared in the *Daily Californian*, which is the student publication at U of C—Berkeley on September 16, 1964. It identifies certain organizations as composing the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination, the same list of organizations that I referred to earlier. But you get along a little further and you find that they put out a flyer.

This reads: "the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination Presents a CONFERENCE ON DISCRIMINATION & URBAN PROBLEMS in Alameda County," at a meeting to be held on January 23, and among others——

MR. SMITH. What year?

MR. MONTGOMERY. They were going to have a workshop on police brutality.

This was a particular workshop, on this occasion, police brutality, addressed by Malcolm Burnstein, an attorney, and Mark Comfort, who we have referred to earlier.

MR. SMITH. You indicated the rally was held on January 23. What year was that?

MR. MONTGOMERY. 1965.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request these documents be received for the record.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 21 and 22," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. This might be a good place to stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

We understand you have a lot of additional information you can give for the record so we will stand in recess at noon to reconvene at 2 o'clock to continue the same line of inquiry.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, Thursday, June 27, 1968, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1968

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:20 p.m., Hon. John M. Ashbrook presiding.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. The committee will resume its sitting.

We welcome you back, Mr. Montgomery. I remind you, you still continue under oath of this morning.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, since Mr. Montgomery is going to be using a large number of documents in support of his testimony, I would like to make a blanket request that all of his documents offered be accepted for the record.

Mr. ASHBROOK. To be inserted at the place where they are referred to?

Mr. SMITH. Right.

Mr. ASHBROOK. All right. That will be the operating procedure.

Will you please propound the next question?

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD S. MONTGOMERY—Resumed

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, just before we recessed for lunch, I asked you the question, "Have you made a survey or study of the *People's World*, the Communist Party publication on the West Coast?"

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, sir, I have. I have reviewed the San Francisco edition of the *People's World* from January 1, 1962, until May 1968.

Mr. SMITH. What conclusions have you reached on its content?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, first, I am sure the committee recognizes the fact that the *People's World* is the propaganda medium, the outlet for the Communist Party in the San Francisco Bay or West Coast area.

The articles in all the *People's World* issues run consistent. The Vietnam issue is favored with considerable space. The *People's World* supports minorities that receive major attention. There is hardly an issue that fails to make claims of police brutality, along with photographs showing the police in the worst light possible. These photographs cover demonstrations both internationally and within the United States. And when it becomes necessary for legal law enforce-

ment, the articles and photographs are always in support of participants in the riots and the attack on police for brutality for enforcing the law as enacted by the Federal, State, and local legislative bodies.

I have some exhibits that can be introduced as examples of the type of propaganda I have described. I am sure this type of reporting has an influence on the type of reaction of any given community, but the point I am making is that the steady diet of this, particularly within the minority groups, is the type of propaganda that tends to inflame them toward the disturbances and riots that subsequently occur as part of a gradual buildup.

As exhibits, I have the *People's World* for Saturday, May 2, 1964, "Civil rights runs into cop violence," in which the emphasis here is on the police rather than on the individuals who are putting on the demonstration [Montgomery Exhibit No. 23].

Again, "Police run amok in Harlem" [*People's World*, July 25, 1964, Montgomery Exhibit No. 24]. Now, even though this publication is on the West Coast, they will reach out to New York. Anything at all to put the police department in a bad light whenever they can.

Again, "Harlem bitter—killer cop let off" [*People's World*, September 5, 1964, Montgomery Exhibit No. 25]. This is typical of the type of propaganda being disseminated in the Bay area, even though some of these topics have no connection at all with the State of California.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 23, 24, and 25," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. What documents do you have on the Communist Party agitation prior to the San Francisco riot on September 27, 1966?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, in addition to the copies that I have submitted for the record, we have Xerox copies of the same tenor, the same demand of a probe on police brutality and cop brutality. They run: "Crime wave? It was created with headlines, not with facts" [*People's World*, May 19, 1962, Montgomery Exhibit No. 26].

"Brutality slated to be trial issue" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 27].

"Behind Oakland 'riot'—cop brutality charge" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 28].

"SF police tactics stir new ire" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 29].

And they follow through in succession and quite often they call it racist violence, and even pictures from Harlem which are published in San Francisco depicting alleged brutality by the police, simply alleging how cops manhandle welfare sit-ins and what not.

They are all part and parcel of the same type of material. I can list them one by one if you wish, but I hit the headlines of them, and I am sure you wouldn't want the entire text—

Mr. SMITH. Would you list them one by one, please?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Right.

For instance, there is one, the article carries the caption, "Brutality slated to be trial issue" [*People's World*, July 21, 1962]. And the *People's World* of July 7, 1962—

Mr. SMITH. Would you pass them over?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. —“Behind Oakland ‘riot.’ ”

Another one, the *People's World* caption, “SF police tactics stir new ire.” This is from the issue of December 22, 1962.

The *People's World* of June 1, 1963, carries a cartoon with a policeman beating a citizen, with one policeman standing on a picket sign “DEFEND THE 1ST AMENDMENT” [Montgomery Exhibit No. 30].

For August 1, 1964, it shows a photograph of a policeman making an arrest of a Negro boy in Harlem [Montgomery Exhibit No. 31]. The photographs of this nature are consistent throughout all editions of the *People's World*. They will pick up anything they can that shows the police in a bad light.

In December 1964 the Free Speech Movement of the University of California in Berkeley virtually captured the university when these demonstrators practically took over. It was an action similar to the takeover at Columbia University. Finally the police were called in.

The *People's World* of December 12, 1964, captioned their article in this terminology: “Students tell of cop brutality in arrest of 768 on campus” [Montgomery Exhibit No. 32].

I might say, Mr. Chairman, that there was no brutality, as such. Some of these students refused to move when told to, or even walk out, and they had simply to carry them, and there was no way to carry them but by force. There were no clubbings, no need for that. They didn't resist.

By and large it was a case where the police either had to pack them out or they weren't about to be arrested.

We have again the *People's World* of February 27, 1965. It charged the Oakland Police Department with police brutality. This is under the caption “Oakland brutality protested” [Montgomery Exhibit No. 33].

We have another exhibit. The next and last exhibit is captioned “Port Chicago brutality rises as vigil enters third week,” and this is from the *People's World* of August 27, 1966 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 34].

I would like to further state that this is not a complete documentation of the attack of the *People's World* on legal enforcement agencies and propaganda fed to the minority community. There is much more to it, but these are examples of the pattern that the *People's World* has followed.

Mr. SMITH. All right.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That concludes the exhibits that I have of this particular example of Communist propaganda from the *People's World*.

(Documents marked “Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 26 through 34,” respectively. Exhibits Nos. 26–29 and 32–34 retained in committee files. Nos. 30 and 31 follow :)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 30

B People's World

Saturday, June 1, 1963



Mr. SMITH. Has the Progressive Labor Movement, later known as the Progressive Labor Party, been active in the San Francisco area?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, it has. It has been quite active.

Mr. SMITH. Can you estimate its strength?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, it would be difficult to estimate the entire membership. But it is considered to be a relatively small organization, with the center of its activities currently at San Francisco State College. Originally, it emanated out of the University of California for the most part, but its center of activity now is on the San Fran-

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 31

[*People's World*]

Saturday, August 1, 1964

RACIST VIOLENCE



HARLEM. A Negro boy, shot in the left leg, is held in a neck-and-wrist lock by burly policeman. Photo was taken in the heart of Harlem, on Lenox avenue, between 126th and 127th streets.

cisco State College campus, and many of their members are interwoven with other organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society, for example.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any documents which were circulated by the Progressive Labor Party which would tend to incite people to riot prior to the San Francisco riot of September 27, 1966?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I have. The first document was received just prior to August 1, 1964, and this is an announcement scheduling a meeting titled "Police Terror" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 35]. It bears three pictures, one showing a group of demonstrators; the second is a picture of a sign being carried in a picket line which reads "IF WE MUST DIE, We Will Die With Weapons In Our Hands." The third is a photograph of police evidently making an arrest, which I assume tends to depict police brutality. Now, this is a document which was circulated, given wide circulation in the Bay area, and the speakers scheduled on this particular program for this meeting were John Thomas, chairman of the Committee to End U.S. Intervention [in Vietnam]; Aaron Chapman, who is a candidate of Freedom Now Party; and Mortimer Scheer, West Coast organizer for the Progressive Labor Movement.

You probably recognize Mort Scheer as a former member of the Communist Party, U.S.A., who was among those expelled when they wouldn't go along with the Khrushchev line of coexistence. It was he and two others, Milton Rosen and Jacob Rosen, who formed the Progressive Labor Party in New York in 1962.

Soon after its formation, Mort Scheer appeared in Berkeley as the West Coast chief of the Progressive Labor Party, and he had working with him—he took on at that time a lieutenant by the name of Lee Coe. Lee Coe also had been expelled from the party in San Francisco for his failure to adhere to the Khrushchev line of coexistence. Lee Coe had been at one time publicity man for Harry Bridges of the Longshoremen's Union. He later had become labor editor for the *People's World*. He has been very active in the party and, upon his being expelled, he linked up with Mortimer Scheer and the people from New York and worked for Mort Scheer in Berkeley on the Berkeley campus on behalf of the Progressive Labor Party.

Now, the document just introduced coupled the Vietnam issue, the poverty issue, and police brutality. In other words, it is sort of a scattergun that covered all three of the principal issues or projects of the Communist Party at that time in the Bay area. It had a little bit of everything in it.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have the address of the Progressive Labor Party?

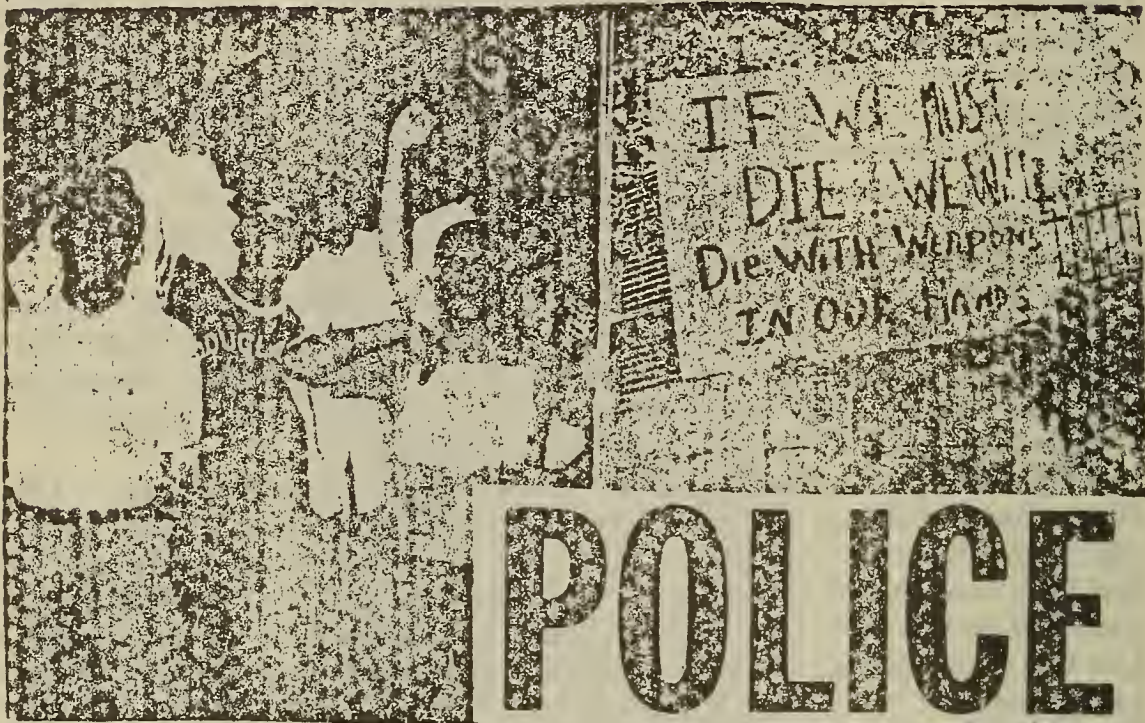
Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, the address given on that flyer that I just turned in was given as Post Office Box 843, San Francisco, California.

Another document which I will introduce was distributed in San Francisco and originated from the Progressive Labor Movement in Berkeley, and the address was given as P.O. Box 73, Station A, Berkeley, California. I happen to know that that was the box at which Mort Scheer received his mail.

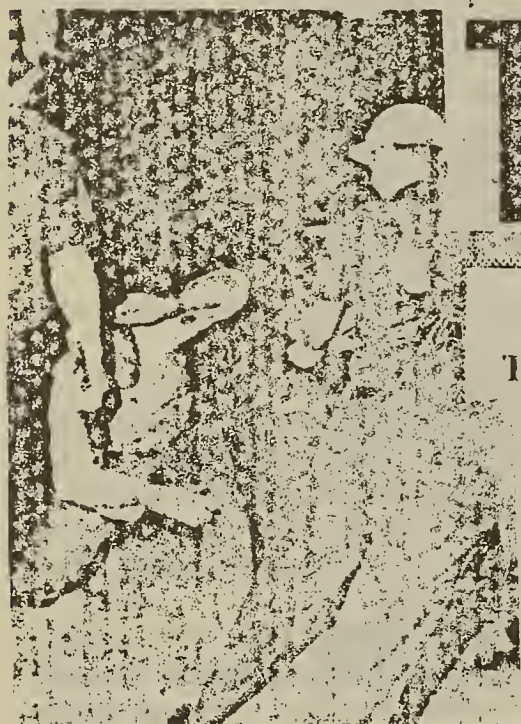
Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to introduce for the record a copy of an application from the Post Office Department dated October 1, 1963, which indicates that Box 73 was rented by Lee Coe, just mentioned by Mr. Montgomery, of the Progressive Labor Party [Montgomery Exhibit No. 36].

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 35 and 36," respectively. Exhibit No. 36 retained in committee files. No. 35 follows:)

THE PEOPLE RESIST



POLICE



TERROR

DEMONSTRATION TO PROTEST POLICE TERROR

TIME: SATURDAY- AUGUST 1st - 1 P.M.

PLACE: McAllister & Filmore

SPEAKERS:

- *JOHN THOMAS-Chairman, Comm. to End U.S. Intervention
- *AARON CHAPMAN-Candidate of Freedom Now Party
- *MORT SCHEER-West Coast Organizer Progressive Labor Movement

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I believe, Mr. Chairman, a classic example of the type of propaganda that they were putting out at this time is a flyer that was given wide distribution throughout the Bay area [Montgomery Exhibit No. 37]. It is entitled "LET'S BLACKJACK JOHNSON," referring to President Johnson. I won't read it all, just one paragraph.

But apparently it's all right for the Negro people to be clubbed, tear-gassed and blackjacked by the Ku Klux Kops. And not only in Selma, but in every black ghetto across the country . . . from Harlem to the San Francisco Bay Area.

And it continues:

The only path for winning freedom from oppression is by organizing for revolutionary struggle. * * *

Finally:

Let us prepare and organize now to win political power! Yes, Mr. Johnson, you will be blackjacked—and we will be free!

This, as I said, came from Post Office Box 73, Berkeley, California. (Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 37" appears on page 2094.)

Mr. ASHBROOK. Let me see that.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The next exhibit was circulated in March of 1965 by the San Francisco Progressive Labor Party and gives a new address. It is the first time, or nearly the first time, their address started showing up. 3382 18th Street, and it is titled "ARE YOU SICK AND TIRED OF BEING SICK AND TIRED?"

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 38" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This was given particularly wide distribution in San Francisco, more so than on the east side of the Bay, and it is an attack on President Johnson and on police in general. It is intended solely to inflame the minority groups, particularly the Negroes, inflame them against President Johnson.

For instance, referring to President Johnson—

HE HEADS UP A SYSTEM THAT THRIVES ON OPPRESSING POOR PEOPLE BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

NEVER IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND HAS ANY RULING CLIQUE GIVEN UP PRIVILEGE OR POWER OR WEALTH UNTIL THEY HAVE BEEN FORCED TO DO SO.

And this is underscored in capital letters.

YET TODAY SUPPOSEDLY RESPONSIBLE NEGRO LEADERS LIKE ROY WILKINS ARE IMPLORING THE BLACK PEOPLE TO REMAIN NON-VIOLENT IN THE FACE OF THEIR CONTINUOUS DEGRADATION AND BLOODSHED. * * *

This is typical of how they will pick out someone whom they consider an Uncle Tom. Any one of their own race who seeks to counterbalance them in any way at all immediately becomes an Uncle Tom and an enemy of the people, particularly the minority.

This particular article continues:

IN HARLEM, N.Y. WHEN THE RESIDENTS RESISTED POLICE AGGRESSION, THEY WON THE FIRST BATTLE ON THE ROAD TO HUMAN DIGNITY AND AN EQUAL RIGHT FOR ALL TO ACHIEVE COMFORT AND HAPPINESS.



The events in Selma, Alabama have outraged the people throughout the country and the world. President Johnson has been exposed as a hypocritical and callous racist who openly declares when confronted with the people's demands: "I won't be blackjacked."

But apparently it's all right for the Negro people to be clubbed, tear-gassed and blackjacked by the Ku Klux Kops. And not only in Selma, but in every black ghetto across the country...from Harlem to the San Francisco Bay Area.

The events in Selma have proven that the civil rights tactic of meeting violence with prayer is only an invitation to more violence. The rising wave of police terror against Black people has proven that the only protection the people can rely on is self-defense. The only time the Federal government sends its troops into action is to PREVENT the Negro people from fighting back. Johnson sends troops into Vietnam for the same reason: to crush the Vietnamese who have been fighting back to achieve their freedom. And the Vietnamese will win regardless of how many Marines Johnson sends to the slaughter.

The Black people in the United States can and will win their freedom too. But not by relying on the White House...nor by relying on prayers and those who advise to turn the other cheek. Nor will demonstrations or protests be enough because they fall on the racist ears of a President who says he won't be blackjacked.

Alabama Governor Wallace and Sheriff Clark should be arrested and jailed. But Johnson won't do it. The people need decent jobs, homes and schools, but Johnson won't do anything about that either.

The only path for winning freedom from oppression is by organizing for revolutionary struggle. This will be a hard struggle. It will not win freedom Now, but it will win Freedom. The phony Civil Rights Bill didn't do it, nor will any phony Right to Vote Bill. The Black people in the North who can vote know that they have no freedom as long as Mr. Charley controls the cops' clubs, guns and dogs, the hiring and firing.

Let's Protest! Let's Demonstrate! Yes, we must and we will.
But let us prepare and organize now to defend ourselves!

Let us prepare and organize now to win political power!
Yes, Mr. Johnson, you will be blackjacked- and we will be free!

IN JONESBORO, LOUISIANA, BLACK CITIZENS HAVE FORMED AN ORGANIZATION CALLED "THE DEACONS FOR DEFENSE AND JUSTICE," WHICH PROTECTS THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS FROM ATTACKS AND HARASSMENT.

Further:

THESE MEASURES POINT OUT THE ROAD FOR ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES!

WHEN NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS FAIL, THEY MUST BE PREPARED TO DEFEND THEIR RIGHTS FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH.

This, again, came from the Progressive Labor headquarters in San Francisco.

We have further examples along the same line. The next is an announcement which is undated, but from the text I would say it came out sometime in the late spring or early summer of 1965. Notice, this document announces a meeting sponsored by San Francisco Draft Resistance Union. The speakers scheduled represent the Black Anti-Draft Union, the Stop-the-Draft-Week, Progressive Labor Party, and the Mission Youth Organizations.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 39" appears on page 2096.)

They quote from inflammatory statements concerning the police—"what makes this country run: police clubs!" "The cops, army, big business and the school authorities work together to push us into a war that we had no part in making and no reason for continuing."

This was handed out particularly around Mission High School, and while it was basically the Progressive Labor Party and the San Francisco Draft Resistance Union, combining with them—in this instance, and I have direct knowledge of their having been there—was, among other people, Kathie Harer, who is the daughter of Asher Harer, one of the functionaries of the Trotskyist party in San Francisco.

While these were prepared by the Progressive Labor Party, the Mission Youth Organizations, that phase of it was headed up for the most part of Kathie Harer, and this was given wide distribution, particularly at Mission High School where there is a preponderance of Negroes.

Mr. SMITH. Would the Trotskyist party that you mentioned be the Socialist Workers Party?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That would be, yes. They are within the Socialist Workers Party.

Mr. SMITH. Proceed.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. And they have a youth group, too. The Young Socialist Alliance, I believe it is called.

Mr. Chairman, I have a publication of *Progressive Labor*, published by the Progressive Labor Party in New York City. This issue I am referring to is for May-June 1965. This issue of the magazine is antipolice, as were other issues of the same publication.

The back page consists of a number of mock-ups of other publications, some abroad, some local, some foreign, every one pointed at the police department. "POLICE TERROR." This would have been 72-point headlines. "KICK OUT MURPHY." "POLICE WAR ON HARLEM." "TODAY VIETNAM TOMORROW—THE WORLD."

You don't have to go!

NO DRAFT FOR VIETNAM!

OUR FIGHT IS HERE!

In Oakland, this week, a lot of people have "discovered" just what kind of "democracy" we really have. A lot of people have learned what some of us have known for a long time (especially around Mission HS) -- what makes this country run police clubs!

The reason more and more people are coming into conflict with the system, is because they are coming to hate the rich man's war in Vietnam.

Young men are throwing away their lives in a war run by the rich and for the rich. Racism and poverty keep the establishment in power. The cops, army, big business, and the school authorities work together to push us into a war that we had no part in making and no reason for continuing.

We must stand together and resist this war. Support liberation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Our fight is for freedom and democracy right here at home.

Vietnam, Santo Domingo, the Congo, to name just a few, should be free of U.S. domination. Support this fight.

You don't have to join the rich man's army. And if you do join, you can fight for your rights inside, too.

Join this fight for freedom here. Learn more about what you can do to stay out of the army, or what you can do inside it.

Come to a rally Friday (tonight) at 7:30 -- 22nd & Mission to support the anti-draft demonstrators in Oakland, and to continue the fight against the U.S. war in Vietnam.

SPEAKERS WILL INCLUDE YOUNG MEN WHO ARE REFUSING TO GO TO VIETNAM!

TIME: Tonight at 7:30 p.m. PLACE: 22nd & Mission
SPEAKERS FROM: Black Anti-Draft Union

«Don't Forget

Stop-the-Draft-Week

"I ain't going to Vietnam. I got nothing against those people. If I'm gonna die fighting, it's gonna be fighting against the slumcrds and loan sharks and crooked politicians and cops right here in San Francisco."
--Come and talk with the young man who made that statement.

Progressive Labor Party

Mission Youth Organizations

Come and get up and speak your piece!
Come and join the fight!

Sponsored by S.F. Draft Resistance Union -- 621-3995 and 824-2533
labor donated.

The whole general tenor of it is of inflammatory nature, but more important, there is one article in here, as I recall, "BLACK LIBERATION," which is highly inflammatory from beginning to end. It relates that the black people will comprise the largest minority of the United States, they are the most oppressed as a section of the working class and as a people, with U.S. imperialism making superprofits be-

cause of the oppression of the black. There is one inflammatory statement after another here, and the sole purpose was to inflame the blacks toward revolution.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 40" and retained in committee files.)

I have also, if you please, a document, a leaflet, distributed by the Progressive Labor Party Student Club, strongly supporting the W. E. B. DuBois Club. "ESCALATION AT HOME" is the title of this leaflet, and it reads in part:

The Progressive Labor Party condemns the vicious bombing attack on the W. E. B. DuBois Club national headquarters which occurred on March 6th. * * *

Their headquarters were bombed on McAllister Street on that date.

I have some extemporaneous knowledge of that, but I think it would be perhaps just as well not to go into it at this point, at any rate, but it continues:

The government's attack only serves to expose their hypocrisy—their ruthlessness. The police attack on the DuBois Club—

They contend it was the police; we know otherwise.

—The police attack on the DuBois Club press conference in New York, the indictment of more than 60 PLP members by New York kangaroo courts, the federal harassment of the University of Michigan students opposed to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the murder of freedom fighters in the South, the framed-up conviction and jailing of Bill Epton from Harlem . . . these are all recent instances of the ruling class' political repression of radicals and revolutionaries in this country.

This also was given widespread circulation throughout the Bay area.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 41" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have also a flyer from San Francisco—it is headed "WANTED for the MURDER of Leonard Deadwyler: 'BOVA—the—COP.'" Well, actually this revolves around a shooting in Los Angeles, but oddly enough, it was given wide distribution in San Francisco although it was a Los Angeles affair.

"WANTED for the MURDER of Leonard Deadwyler:—(a member of the concentration camp) 'BOVA—the—COP' (a guard in the concentration camp)."

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 42" and retained in committee files.¹)

Mr. ASHBROOK. What date was this?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This is a highly inflammatory flyer and information put out. "Murder by cops and death by unemployment are methods of systematic extermination." "DISARM THE GUARDS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP," meaning "Disarm the cops."

This would be May and June. This came out in late May or early June of 1966.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, this document here refers to the accidental shooting of Leonard Deadwyler by a policeman of Los Angeles by the name of Bova.

¹This exhibit is identical to Anderson Exhibit No. 13, reproduced in pt. 3 of these hearings (Los Angeles-Watts), pp. 1245, 1246.

Mr. ASHBROOK. I was going to comment that that follows 2 years after the Epton incident. Epton was later convicted of criminal anarchy.

The Deadwyler case was set before this committee by Lieutenant Clayton R. Anderson on November 30, 1967.

(At this point Mr. Willis entered the hearing room.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The next example I have of the Progressive Labor Party's propaganda, and this is again both Los Angeles and San Francisco, is a flyer put out in support of John Harris, who had been arrested for criminal syndicalism. It implies that this was a frameup and that the reason he was being arrested was a further subjugation of the Negroes and the Negro in the ghetto, and it takes out after General Motors and other corporations.

"We will not stop our protests. On the contrary, we will redouble them!!!" And "DEFEND JOHN HARRIS!"

Now, although this emanated out of the South, it was given wide distribution in northern California as well.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 43" appears on page 2099.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, John Harris was also the subject under inquiry by this committee to which Lieutenant Anderson testified last November 1967.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have with me, Mr. Chairman, a copy of *Spark*, a reproduction of a copy of *Spark*, which on its face identifies itself as the publication of the Progressive Labor Party, and its subtitle is the "WESTERN VOICE FOR REVOLUTION."

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 44" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It depicts inflammatory views of policemen, various policemen. It identifies the lineup. "Robber Cop Hit With Assault Suit." "Oakland cop guns down boy." An editorial in opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and to the right, "HUAC IS COMING To S.F." They anticipated your coming out there in 1965. There was no hearing held at that time, as you know, but in anticipation of your coming, they spread the word in view of hoping to create another such incident or disturbance as occurred at the time of your last hearings there in May of 1960.

Now, this is edited by an individual who identifies himself as a Communist. He is a Maoist. He follows the Peking line. His name is John Ross.

One of the first things he did—he has been very instrumental in the Mission Tenants Union, among other things, but one of the first things he did upon coming to San Francisco and getting organized was to get himself elected to the War on Poverty Board in that area. In his capacity as a member of the governing board in that area to the War on Poverty, he caused to be introduced and adopted a resolution denouncing the Federal Government for having expelled some squatters from a piece of Federal property in Georgia or some such State.

Now, of course, that had nothing whatsoever to do with poverty in the Mission district, but it set the tenor for the type of activity he was espousing within this War on Poverty Board, and eventually he became such an extremist on the board that the rest of the board mem-

June 1966

Who Is Really Guilty? LBJ, Yorty, General Motors.

JOHN HARRIS ARRESTED FOR "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM"

John Harris, Progressive Labor Party worker in Watts, was arrested by the Los Angeles County District Attorney September 30 for "criminal syndicalism." It was the first time this law was used since 1931 -- when it was used to break a farm labor organizing drive in the San Joaquin Valley. The purpose of the government in using this law now is clearly to suppress freedom of speech in the Black ghetto and to stifle the rising voices of protest against inhuman conditions in Watts.

At 5:30 p. m. six plainclothes cops broke into the house where John Harris lives. Although claiming to have a warrant, they refused to show it. They handcuffed John Harris. Then they ransacked the apartment, throwing articles around, ripping down pictures and causing other damage. They carted off boxes of personal belongings of the three people who live there to use as "evidence." Also, they took PLP literature that was stored there. For example, they took 250 copies of the new PL magazine and copies of SPARK. They took books and notes for classes, all this as "evidence."

Why are they arresting John? The "criminal syndicalism" law states that it is illegal to speak or leaflet so as to advocate "change in industrial ownership" or to "effect political change" by so-called criminal means. A Grand Jury meeting secretly apparently decided this is what John was doing -- and set the bail at \$15,000.

In fact they are arresting John to scare and terrorize PLP members and others who protest conditions in the Black ghetto. Although John is not guilty of any criminal or illegal act, he certainly is guilty of protesting the wretched living conditions in Watts. He has spoken and written about the fact that real income in Watts has declined eight percent since 1960 while rising in the rest of Los Angeles. He has passed out leaflets which pointed out that Watts is one of the biggest concentrations of industry -- yet Black people living there can't get jobs in these plants, and there is 37 per cent unemployment there. He has publicly denounced the war in Vietnam and urged his Black brothers not to fight in that war. He has told them to oppose the draft and warmly supported such people as Richmond and Key, who refused to be inducted on the grounds that they are a colonial minority and shouldn't fight the colonial master's dirty war against the colored people of Southeast Asia. He has constantly worked to expose the brutal outrages of Yorty's fascist cops in Watts who constantly murder and maim Black people, the Deadwyler murder being only one example. What is more, John has held classes which sought to get at the root cause of U.S. oppression both at home and abroad. He has not hesitated to name the real enemy, U.S. imperialism, and has stated unequivocally that imperialism in this country must be replaced by a socialist system. He has stated openly that he is a communist and proud of it.

For this he was arrested for "criminal syndicalism."

The timing and charges of this arrest are significant, following on the heels of arrests of Black militants in Atlanta, the so-called dynamite frame-ups in Philadelphia and the indictments in Cleveland. Lyndon Johnson is ordering his local stooges to begin a nation-wide roundup of all Black militants who refuse to sell out, because rebellions in Black ghettos are harming his war effort. Though the charges are serious and the bail fantastic, we declare that the real guilty ones are Johnson and his gang for pursuing the genocidal war against Vietnam, Yorty and his thugs who are daily murdering and maiming Black people, General Motors and Go-d Year whose plants in South Los Angeles poison the air of Watts but who refuse to hire its residents.

We must expect that as we get more effective in our protests, repression such as this will get worse, but the use of such a shaky law indicates that the ruling class is desperate.

We will not stop our protests. On the contrary, we will redouble them!!!

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

Los Angeles: P. O. Box 19930 / Phone: 399-6819 or 933-0463
San Francisco: 29 29 16th Street / Phone: UN 1-300

[LABOR DONATED]

DEFEND JOHN HARRIS!

bers within the Mission district had him expelled from the board. He just overstepped his bounds on that point.

This is an example of the publication they are putting out.

Mr. SMITH. Are you familiar with the organization known as the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life, commonly referred to as CERGE?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I am. It is not a big organization in San Francisco, but I have knowledge of it. I have seen some of their printed matter. I have examples of literature that was circulated in the San Francisco Bay area, and knowledge of some of the people who are connected with it. There has been some activity in the Bay area.

Mr. SMITH. What is the nature or purpose of this organization?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, primarily it was to raise funds for the defense of Bill Epton following his arrest in Harlem. You will recall he was indicted and arrested. CERGE was created as a front, you might say, by the Progressive Labor Party to raise funds for Bill Epton, who was then vice president of the Progressive Labor Party, and who was subsequently convicted of criminal anarchy and conspiring to riot for his participation in the riots in Harlem.

Mr. SMITH. When was the organization formed, or do you know?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, the best I can do on that, sir, is to say that the *National Guardian* for February 20, 1965, announced the creation of this organization, so it would have been sometime just prior—I would say probably early February 1965.

Mr. SMITH. Are there any California sponsors of this organization?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, there are. I am not familiar with all the names that are listed here as sponsors. There may be more than one, but I do know of one. On this exhibit that I have, there appears the name of Vincent Hallinan, whom I have referred to previously here, and we also have a letterhead from CERGE, with a message on it.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 45 and 46," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This went to an individual in Berkeley saying, "We gratefully acknowledge your financial assistance to CERGE." It is dated April 3, 1965, and it lists as one of the sponsors Vincent Hallinan, an avowed Marxist attorney of San Francisco.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to enter into the record the information concerning Mr. Hallinan's activities, Communist-front organizations, et cetera, as taken from the committee files.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. It will be received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 47" follows:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 47

INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Subject: VINCENT HALLINAN.

This Committee makes NO EVALUATION in this report. The following is only a compilation of recorded public material contained in our files and should not be construed as representing the results of any investigation or finding by the Committee. The fact that the Committee has information as set forth below on the subject of this report is not per se an indication that this individual, organization, or publication is subversive, unless specifically stated.

Symbols in parentheses after the name of any organization or publication mentioned herein indicate that the organization or publication has been cited as being subversive by one or more Federal authorities. The name of each agency is denoted by a capital letter, as follows: A—Attorney General of the United States; C—Committee on Un-American Activities; I—Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee; J—Senate Judiciary Committee; and S—Subversive Activities Control Board. The numerals after each letter represent the year in which that agency first cited the organization or publication. (For more complete information on citations, see this Committee's "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications.")

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATIONS

1957- PEOPLE'S WORLD (C-1959)

1962 To share platform with Rockwell Kent at a testimonial to be given in Mr. Kent's honor, September 14, 1957 in San Francisco; proceeds from the testimonial are to go to People's World [Letterhead of "Rockwell Kent Testimonial Committee," August 19, 1957]

To speak on "I Saw the Powers Trial," October 21, 1960 at Berkeley meeting held by the East Bay People's World Forum Committee [People's World, October 22, 1960, p. 11]

Writes book review for People's World [People's World, November 12, 1960, p. 7]

September 4, 1961 picnic for the benefit of People's World to be held at the Hallinan estate [National Guardian, August 28, 1961, p. 7]

To be master of ceremonies at celebration commemorating the 25th year of publication of People's World, February 3, 1962 [People's World, February 3, 1962, p. 11]

COMMUNIST FRONTS

1948- PROGRESSIVE PARTY (C-1957; I-1956)

1955 Member, State Central Committee, California, 1948 & 1950 ["Members of . . . State Central Committees and County Committee Chairmen . . .," compiled by Secretary of State, California & published by the State, August 7, 1948, p. 39 and August 6, 1950, p. 34]

Chairman, Marin County (Calif.) Central Committee, 1948, 1950 and 1952 ["Members of . . . State Central Committees and County Committee Chairman . . .," compiled by Secretary of State, California & published by the State, August 7, 1948, p. 35 and August 6, 1950, p. 31; Daily People's World, February 6, 1952, p. 6]

Delegate to national convention, July 23-25, 1948, Philadelphia [Daily People's World, July 3, 1948, p. 8]

Candidate for Presidential elector pledged to Wallace and Taylor (the Progressive Party candidates) [Daily People's World, August 9, 1948, p. 3]

Scheduled to speak at rally, January 28, 1951, Oakland [Daily People's World, January 25, 1951, p. 10]

Speaker at San Francisco kick-off rally, December 7, 1951 for tri-state Progressive Party conference [Daily People's World, December 7, 1951, p. 2 and December 10, 1951, p. 3]

Scheduled to speak at rally held February 19, 1952 in Philadelphia [Daily Worker, February 20, 1952, p. 2]

Candidate for President of United States on Progressive Party ticket in 1952 elections [Daily Worker, March 7, 1952, p. 1 and March 16, 1952, p. 2; Minutes of meeting of National Committee, Progressive Party, Chicago, Ill., March 29-30, 1952]

Speaker and participant in a "conference to end discrimination and segregation in the nation's capital," May 16, 1953, Washington, D.C., called by the Progressive Party ["Call" to the conference; Daily Worker, April 30, 1953, p. 8, May 14, 1953, p. 3, May 18, 1953, pp. 1 & 6, May 20, 1953, p. 2, and May 21, 1953 p. 8]

Scheduled to speak at Philadelphia Peace Rally, May 20, 1953 [Daily Worker, May 19, 1953, p. 2]

Named honorary vice chairman of California State Central Committee, August 8, 1954 [Daily People's World, August 10, 1954, pp. 3 & 6]

Scheduled to speak at meeting in Los Angeles, July 21, 1955 [Daily People's World, July 20, 1955, p. 7]

1949 CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS (A-1947; C-1947; I-1956; S-1957)

The CRC picnic, July 24, 1949 is scheduled to be held on the Hallinan estate [Daily People's World, July 18, 1949, p. 3]

1950- NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD (C-1944; I-1956)

1967 Speaker at NLG annual convention, May 7, 1950 [Daily Worker, May 8, 1950, p. 3]

Vice President, San Francisco Chapter [Daily People's World, April 25, 1950, p. 3]

Guest of honor and speaker at luncheon to be held by New York City Chapter, March 7, 1951 [Daily Worker, March 5, 1951, p. 5]

One of "Those Guild members who contributed in the Courts to the

Defense of the Bill of Rights" in whose honor the New York City Chapter will hold a banquet, October 25, 1957 [Lawyers Guild Review, Fall 1957, p. 118]

Listed in the 1960 and 1962 NLG's Lawyers Referral Directories [NLG Convention Souvenir Program, July 28-31, 1960, p. 29 and 1962 Silver Anniversary Convention Program, p. 28]

To discuss "The United States, Cuba, and the Neutrality Act," at meeting of San Francisco Chapter, May 25, 1961 [New York Guild Lawyer, May 1961, p. 1]

Member, San Francisco Bay Area Chapter [Certification of Membership, January 26, 1967, filed with the Secretary of the State Bar of California, p. 1]

1951 BRIDGES-ROBERTSON-SCHMIDT DEFENSE COMMITTEE (I-1956)

Scheduled to speak at meeting in San Francisco, January 26, 1951 on "America Through Western European Eyes" [Daily People's World, January 26, 1951, p. 3]

1951 VETERANS FOR PEACE (I-1956)

Scheduled to speak at meeting on March 17, 1951 in San Francisco [Daily People's World, March 16, 1951, pp. 3 & 6]

1951-1960 LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN (C-1956)

Speaker at banquet held September 17, 1951 as testimonial to lawyers handling deportation cases [Daily People's World, September 18, 1951, p. 3]

Speaker at 10th Annual Dinner honoring members of Legal Panel and Officers, November 19, 1960 [People's World, October 15, 1960, p. 11, October 22, 1960, p. 11, November 5, 1960, p. 3, November 12, 1960, p. 11, and November 26, 1960, p. 3]

1952 AMERICAN LABOR PARTY (C-1944; I-1956)

The State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party, New York, unanimously ratified Hallinan's candidacy for President on the Progressive Party ticket [Daily Worker, March 25, 1952, p. 3]

Named among those to be honored at April 18, 1952 dinner held by the Kings County American Labor Party in New York City [Daily Worker, April 14, 1952, p. 8]

Spoke at the following election rallies held by ALP: September 24, dinner at Hotel Astor; September 30, Hunts Point Palace, Bronx; October 1, Lost Battalion Hall, Queens; October 9, Riverside Plaza Hotel, NYC; and October 27, Madison Square Garden [Daily Worker, September 22, 1952, pp. 2 & 8; September 26, 1952, p. 3; September 29, 1952, pp. 6 & 8; October 8, 1952, p. 8; and October 22, 1952, p. 8]

1952-1955 MARCH OF LABOR (C-1954)

Elected president of the March of Labor Corporation for the year 1952 [March of Labor, March 1952, p. 22]

Stockholder and part owner, 1952-1955 [Statement of Ownership, March of Labor, October-November 1952, p. 2, October-November 1953, p. 2, November 1954, p. 2, and November 1955, p. 2]

1953 INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION (C-1940; expelled from CIO in 1950 on grounds of Communist domination)

Took part in discussion at 10th biennial convention of union which closed in San Francisco on April 11, 1953 [Daily Worker, April 13, 1953, pp. 3 & 6]

1953-1967 VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE (A-1947; C-1944)

To be one of the main speakers at meeting commemorating the "defense of Madrid," November 14, 1953, San Francisco, called jointly by the VALB and Spanish Refugee Appeal (C-1946; I-1956) [Daily People's World, October 16, 1953, p. 3 and November 5, 1953, p. 7]

Speaker at its "Fight Back Rally," February 25, 1962 in New York; money collected was to be used in the fight to keep the organization from registering as a "Communist front" as ordered by the Justice Department [The Worker, February 4, 1962, p. 9, February 13, 1962, p. 2, March 4, 1962, p. 12; National Guardian, February 12, 1962, p. 10]

Member of Committee of Sponsors for a VALB dinner in tribute to Dr. Edward K. Barsky on the 30th Anniversary of the war in Spain, to be held February 24, 1967, NYC; proceeds are to be used to establish a "defense fund for those young men and women in the United States and in Spain

- who are today on the firing line of the fight for peace, civil rights and civil liberties." [January 31, 1967 letterhead with attached invitation]
- 1955- NATIONAL GUARDIAN (C-1956)
- 1963 Main speaker at a Guardian meeting held April 20, 1955 at City Center auditorium, New York [Daily People's World, April 26, 1955, p. 2]
- Principal speaker at a benefit banquet for the National Guardian to be held May 13, 1955 in San Francisco [Daily People's World, April 25, 1955, p. 7]
- National Guardian picnic, July 31, 1955, to be held at home of Vincent Hallinan, Ross, Calif. [Daily People's World, July 20, 1955, p. 7]
- To be host at dinner in his home for benefit of National Guardian, March 29, 1958 [Dinner invitation]
- Writer of article, "California: The choice is evil—large or lesser." [National Guardian, October 13, 1958, p. 5]
- To report on recent tour of USSR on July 31, 1959 for benefit of National Guardian [People's World, July 25, 1959, p. 11]
- To report on tour of Europe at meeting on October 10, 1959 for benefit of National Guardian [People's World, October 3, 1959, p. 11]
- To report on the trial of Gary Powers in the Soviet Union (Hallinan was invited by the Soviet government to observe the trial) at Guardian meeting on September 2, 1960 [People's World, September 3, 1960, p. 11]
- To speak on "American Military and Economic Penetration of the Far East," at meeting on June 2, 1961 [People's World, May 22, 1961, p. 10, May 27, 1961, p. 11, and June 3, 1961, p. 11]
- To speak on "Political Perspectives, 1962" at meeting in San Francisco on January 19, 1962 [National Guardian, January 1, 1962, p. 11]
- Reviews book for National Guardian [National Guardian, September 26, 1963, p. 10]
- Sponsor, Yasui Welcoming Committee (the National Guardian as a part of its 15th Anniversary celebration sponsored a 10-day peace tour of the United States by Professor Kaoru Yasui of Tokyo, November 17-26, 1963) [National Guardian, November 7, 1963, p. 6; leaflet, "The National Guardian announces . . ."]
- 1960 AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF SAN FRANCISCO (A-1949; C-1959)
- Co-author with his wife of booklet entitled "A Clash of Cultures: Some Contrasts in American and Soviet Morals and Manners," published in 1960 by American Russian Institute [Booklet; May 25, 1960 ARI Bulletin; People's World, June 11, 1960, p. 11]
- To speak at meeting in San Francisco, December 10, 1960 on "New Highroads to Peace and Friendship" [People's World, November 19, November 26, December 3, and December 10, 1960, p. 11]
- 1960 METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION (I-1956)
- Speaker at meeting October 28, 1960 at Annual Fall Retreat, White Sulfur Springs Resort, Calif. [MFSA Retreat Program, October 28-29, 1960]
- 1961 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS (C-1961)
- Sponsor of rally to be held September 23, 1961 in New York City to protest the action of the Supreme Court in upholding the McCarran Act and requiring the Communist Party to register [National Guardian, August 21, 1961, p. 3; ad, New York Times, "Back to McCarthyism?", September 7, 1961, p. 26; undated letterhead received January 4, 1962]
- Speaker at the rally on September 23 [The Worker, September 24, 1961, pp. 1 & 10; People's World, September 30, 1961, pp. 1 & 12]
- 1961 EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE (C-1959; I-1956)
- Signer of ad defending the First Amendment [ECLC reprint of Washington Post ad, October 2, 1961]
- 1962 FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE, GREATER LOS ANGELES CHAPTER (C-1962)
- Speaker on Cuba at meeting on March 4, 1961 [Handbill, "The Case for Cuba;" People's World, March 11, 1961, p. 3]
- 1962 NEW WORLD REVIEW (C-1958; I-1956)
- His book, "A Clash of Cultures: Some Contrasts in US-USSR Morals and Manners," offered free with 5-month trial subscription to New World

Review [List of Book Premiums enclosed in New World Review form letter of October 2, 1962]

- 1962- CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES (C-1961)
 1964 Sponsor [Letterheads dated August 14, 1962, May 17, 1963, and April 9, 1964]
 Sponsor, March 15, 1964 dinner in New York City in honor of the Chairman of the organization [National Guardian, March 7, 1964, p. 11]
 1964- NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (C-1961)
 1966 Sponsor [Abolition News, published by the organization, February 21, 1964, p. 4; letterhead dated December 4, 1964 with attached list of sponsors; also letterheads of April 2, 1965 and January 8, 1966]
 1965 NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN (C-1956)
 Sponsor of benefit, June 5, 1965 in San Francisco [Program of benefit, attached to June 5, 1965 handbill]

ADDITIONAL PERTINENT INFORMATION

- 1949 DEFENSE OF COMMUNIST LEADERS
 Signer of letters to Vice President Alben Barkley and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath protesting the trial of the 12 Communist Party leaders [Daily People's World, September 22, 1949, p.1]
 1952- SUPPORT FOR JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG, CONVICTED IN 1951 OF ESPIONAGE
 1953 Urged people to write President Truman to save lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, sentenced to die on espionage charges [Daily Worker, October 15, 1952, p. 1]
 To speak at mass rally for clemency for the Rosenbergs at meeting on January 22, 1952 at Williard Junior High School, Berkeley [Daily People's World, December 30, 1952, p. 3]
 Speaker at meeting to raise funds in behalf of the Rosenbergs, February 15, 1953, Oakland, California [Daily People's World, February 17, 1953, p. 8]
 An international dinner "to aid the fight to save the Rosenbergs" is to be held in Hallinan's home, April 25, 1953 [Daily People's World, April 24, 1953, p. 6]

Mr. SMITH. Did CERGE have an address in San Francisco?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, here is a page-size insert in a copy of *Spark*, which is the Progressive Labor Party publication, with a huge article, feature article, "FREE BILL EPTON! 'WE WILL WIN,'" calling for money contributions and "Send in coupon." The address given is "Mens Manhattan House of Detention," if you want to write to him directly, but as for San Francisco, it comes out of the *Spark* headquarters in San Francisco. I believe Post Office Box—their Box 4403, where they got their mail. It is the *Spark* headquarters, is what it amounts to. Progressive Labor headquarters.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 48" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Continue, please.

Do you have any additional documents?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have an ad that was run—well, I believe that is part of this exhibit [indicating]—an ad that was run in June of 1965 on behalf of Epton, an urgent appeal, money is urgently needed, to send it to Box 4403, San Francisco. Now, this was an advertisement calling for public contributions for the defense of Bill Epton.

Mr. SMITH. Were any meetings held by CERGE in San Francisco?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have one document, a leaflet, which indicates, "Harlem—Watts—Oakland. 'WE ACCUSE.' *Who are the real criminals? What is the real meaning of the rebellions in Harlem and Watts? Where is the struggle leading?* Hear: BILL McADOO—from Har-

lem, FRANK GREENWOOD—from Watts, MARK COMFORT—from East Oakland.”

Now, this also was given wide distribution because the meeting was held in San Francisco on Sunday, March 27, at 8 p.m., in 1965, and at California Hall, 625 Polk Street in San Francisco.

They also featured music by The Gentlemen and there was a donation at the door, a solicitation of 99 cents, apparently for some tax purposes. This was put out by CERGE.

(Document marked “Montgomery Exhibit No. 49” follows:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 49

Harlem · Watts · Oakland

“WE ACCUSE”

Who are the real criminals?

What is the real meaning of the rebellions in Harlem and Watts?

Where is the struggle leading?

Hear:

BILL McADOO ___ from Harlem

FRANK GREENWOOD ___ from Watts

MARK COMFORT ___ from East Oakland

BENEFIT FOR CERGE (COMMITTEE TO DEFEND RESISTANCE TO GHETTO LIFE)

Sunday March 27, 8 P.M.

California Hall, 625 Polk Street in San Francisco

Plus: Music by The Gentlemen

99 Cents -- Donation at the door



Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the name Bill McAdoo mentioned by Mr. Montgomery, we have quite a lengthy record on Mr. McAdoo in the committee files which I would like to enter at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, it will be done.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 50" follows:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 50

WILLIAM McADOO

William (Bill) McAdoo is an official of the pro-Peking Communist Progressive Labor Party.

He headed its front called the Harlem Defense Council and the Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE).

When the 1964 riots in New York City were investigated by a grand jury, McAdoo refused to cooperate. He was subsequently sentenced to 4 months in jail for criminal contempt for refusing to cooperate with the grand jury investigation of the riot.

He had "refused to answer questions as to when he had become a member of the Progressive Labor movement * * *; whether he had demonstrated at the movement's headquarters how to make Molotov cocktails and whether he had agreed with Epton to incite further rioting." (New York Times 10/28/64:C18)

McAdoo has been an open member of the Progressive Labor Party, and his membership has been repeatedly acknowledged in PLP publications. The May 1966 issue of Spark notes that he is from the Harlem Progressive Labor Party.

WILLIAM (BILL) McADOO

Year	Incident/Organization	Affiliation	Source
1961	Camp Midvale.....	Director.....	National Guardian, July 24, 1961 p. 7.
1961	New Horizons for Youth, Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, and Advance (Hootenanny, New York City, Dec. 8, 1961).	Scheduled entertainer at Hootenanny.	The Worker, Dec. 5, 1961, p.6.
1962	East Side Press Club (meeting in New York City on Apr. 6, 1962).	Scheduled entertainer.	The Worker, Apr. 1, 1962, p. 10.
1964-66	Harlem Defense Council.....	Leader, chairman, and cochairman.	National Guardian, Jan. 30, 1965, p. 10; Challenge, Mar. 16, 1965, p. 4; and leaflet, "Rally to Free Bill Epton," Jan. 21, 1966.
1964	July 18-23 New York riot: Sentenced to 4 months in jail on Apr. 5, 1965, for criminal contempt for refusing to cooperate with a New York State grand jury investigation of the riot.		National Guardian, Apr. 17, 1965, p. 7.
	(He "refused to answer questions as to when he had become a member of the Progressive Labor movement * * *; whether he had demonstrated at the movement's headquarters how to make Molotov cocktails and whether he had agreed with (William) Epton to incite further rioting.")		The New York Times, Oct. 28, 1964, p. C-18.
1964	Ad Hoc Committee to Combat Fascism (rally in New York City, Oct. 15, 1964).	Speaker at rally.....	Challenge, Oct. 20, 1964, p. 2.
1964	Progressive Labor Movement (National Coordinating Committee meeting, October 1964).	Participant.....	"The Black Liberation Struggle and the Right to Revolution" Pre-Convention Discussion Bulletin #2 (Progressive Labor Movement).
1965	Progressive Labor.....	Writer of articles....	Progressive Labor, October 1965, pp. 39-57; and June-July 1966, pp. 31-56 and 65-67.
1964-65	Committee to Defend Resistance to Ghetto Life (CERGE).	Chairman.....	National Guardian, Nov. 28, 1964, p. 8; and letterhead, February 1965.
1966	Progressive Labor Party.....	Official.....	"Road to Revolution," (1967) by Phillip A. Luce, p. 127.
1966	Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (petition supporting the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell).	Signer of petition....	National Guardian, Nov. 12, 1966, p. 8.
1966	Free University Forum (meeting in New York City on Jan. 8, 1966).	Scheduled speaker ..	National Guardian, Jan. 8, 1966, p. 11.

Mr. SMITH. Have the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs been active in the area we have under discussion?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, they have been very active, but most of their attention has been focused on the Vietnam issue and on the poverty issue. There is no little question but what they have agitated in areas where riots have occurred. In fact, members of the club have been observed at these various demonstrations and riots.

I have as an example of their activity a copy of the front page of *THE CONVENER*. Now, this was published by the preparatory committee for a new nationwide socialist youth organization. This organization had its first convention June 21, 1964, and adopted the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. This convention was held at 150 Golden Gate Avenue in San Francisco and turned out to be what constituted the founding convention of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs. This was a call for that meeting.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 51" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It depicts pictures of—the issue that I have is for April 1964, and the cover has two photographs of the Sheraton-Palace Hotel demonstration of March 1964, and they claim victory in this demonstration. This later became the *INSURGENT*. After the founding convention, they continued the publication, but rather than being called *THE CONVENER*, it was known as the *INSURGENT* and I am more aware of it under that title than I am *THE CONVENER*.

I have another document. It is undated, but it would appear to me to be some time in 1964 and it was printed by the Fillmore DuBois Club. At its original inception there in the Bay area we had at least three chapters of the DuBois Club. It has gone downhill a little. They are not as active as they were, but at that time they were most active and the Fillmore district is one—well, the Harlem of San Francisco.

We have two, three predominantly Negro areas: Hunter's Point, the Fillmore area, and portions of the Ingleside, but the Fillmore by and large is considered the Harlem of San Francisco.

Now, this document is titled "HAVE THE COPS EVER GIVEN YOU ANY TROUBLE?" This is aimed basically at police brutality.

"Has a cop ever walked into your house?"

"Has a cop ever stopped you on the street for nothing?"

"Has a cop ever pulled you out of your car without reason?" and so on.

"If a cop has ever done anything like this to you he is breaking the law.

"YOU DONT HAVE TO TAKE IT"

And they set up a committee to receive any complaints against the police. Their duty was to gather any complaints of any nature against the police, and it is rather interesting.

You call this particular number or come to McAllister Street, which was the DuBois headquarters, and here again you come across three names: Sharon Stallinger, Richard Thomas, and, again, Harold Supriano. No matter where you turned, you would inevitably come across Harold Supriano somewhere in the picture.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 52" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Then I have a flyer, a DuBois Club newsletter, that was put out in San Francisco, and it calls on their membership to aid the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination in their picketing project at the *Oakland Tribune*.

I mentioned earlier today the picketing demonstration of the *Oakland Tribune*. This is a letter sent out to the membership of the DuBois Club asking that they join in this demonstration, and a great many of them did.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have a date for that?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This was sent out just prior—well, the meeting itself was held on January 17, 1965, where they passed the resolution calling for assistance to the Ad Hoc Committee.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 53" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Now we have switched over to the *INSURGENT*. This was originally *THE CONVENER*, and most of the material I have comes out of the *INSURGENT*, the national magazine of the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. This is a national publication, and here is the cover for May-June 1966 issue. Again, it is a caricature of police beating a Negro and reflecting police brutality, alleged police brutality, which became at about this point one of their main projects, espousing the charges of police brutality.

It is rather interesting that this particular drawing carries the signature of Frank Cieciora, Jr., and this boy is quite a character. He holds forth in hippieland, the Haight-Ashbury, but he is quite active in doing cartoon work, not only for the DuBois Club and Progressive Labor Party, but also for various "underground" newspapers.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 54" appears on page 2109.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, do you have any additional preriort documents to offer the committee?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have a leaflet distributed by the People's Armed Defense Groups, which states they were organized by the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist) and it gives the address of 9122 South Compton Avenue, Los Angeles; also, a New York address of 2521 8th Avenue.

The leaflet states "Oppose the Reactionary Violence OF THE RULING CLASS With the Revolutionary Violence OF THE PEOPLE." In other words, it is advocating revolution. Although this carries Los Angeles and New York addresses, this was given wide distribution in the San Francisco area.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, a similar exhibit was distributed in the south-central Los Angeles area in May 1966. It was introduced as an exhibit in the testimony of James C. Harris,¹ a detective of the district attorney's office of Los Angeles County, in testimony before this committee on November 28, 1967.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 55" and retained in committee files.)

¹This is almost identical to Harris Exhibit No. 16, pt. 3, p. 1144.

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING 2109

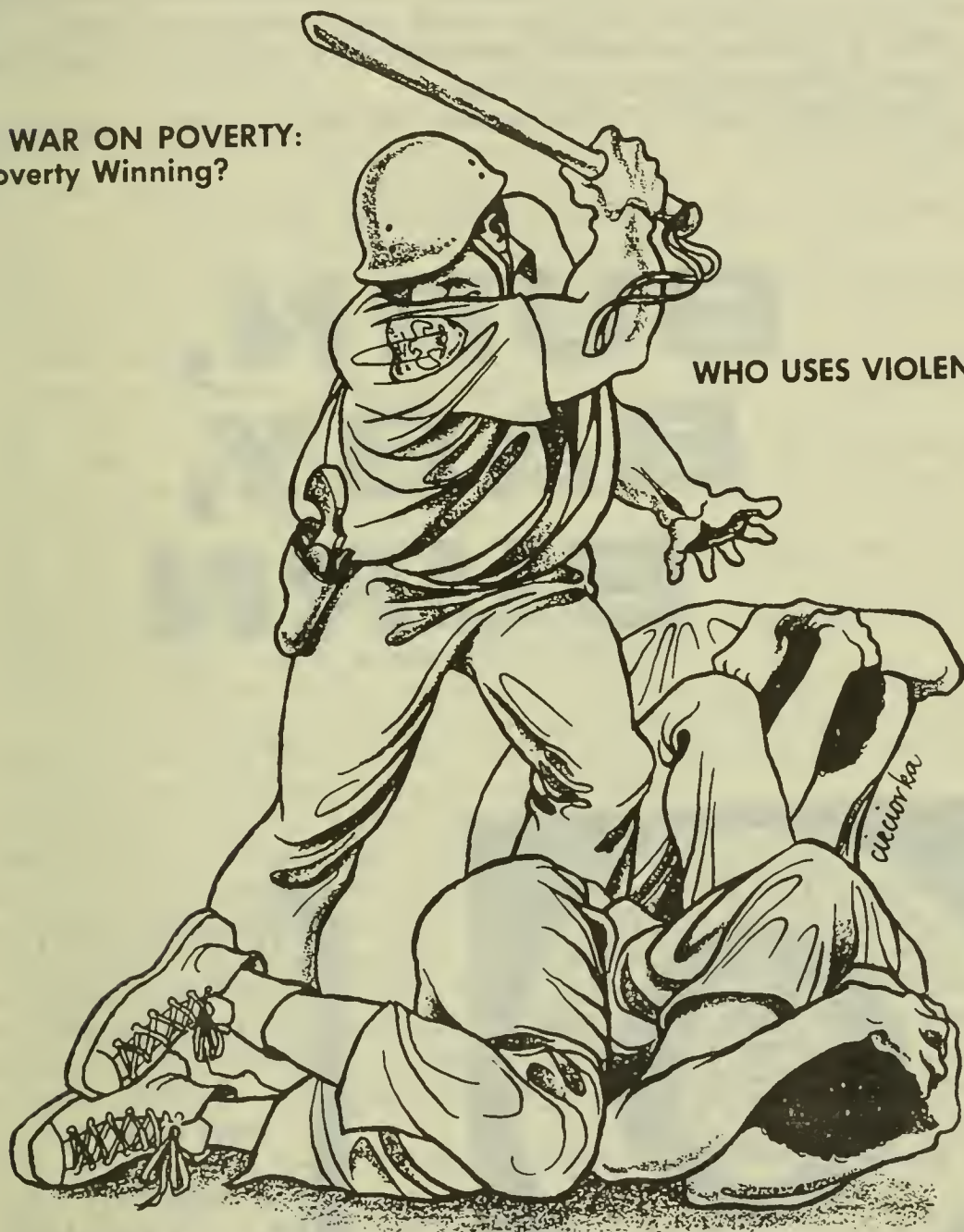
MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 54

INSURGENT

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF THE W.E.B. DUBOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

**THE WAR ON POVERTY:
Is Poverty Winning?**

WHO USES VIOLENCE?



MAY-JUNE, 1966

25¢

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have a sticker headed "BURN, BABY, BURN." Now, this was printed by the Anarchist League of Los Angeles and was distributed prior to the riot in San Francisco in September of 1966.

I might say that these are samples of the type of inflammatory propaganda—in addition to "BURN, BABY, BURN," there were displayed "SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL ANARCHIST" and "WARNING: YOUR LOCAL POLICE ARE ARMED AND DANGEROUS!"

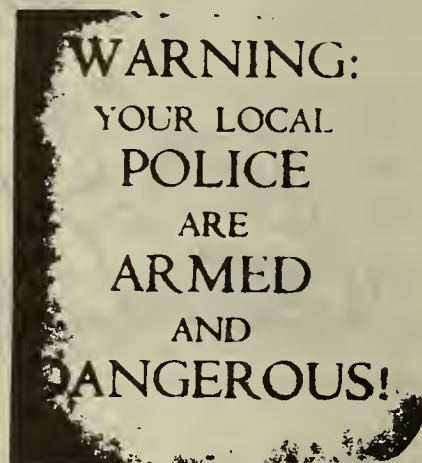
These also appeared in little sticker form almost overnight throughout West Oakland in the Negro area, and throughout various areas of San Francisco you would find these little stickers on mail boxes, on metal utility poles, on postal boxes.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 56-A" follow:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 56-A

**BURN,
BABY,
BURN**

Support the Revolution A. L. - L. A.



MR. MONTGOMERY. There was one—I don't have a copy of it, unfortunately—that came at the same time: "Watch Whitey Run," and people were going around scraping these off the mail boxes who disagreed with them, but these were given wide dissemination throughout the Bay area and, again, this was prior to the riot of San Francisco.

They also put out a document "Uncle Sam wants *YOU* nigger," and I am not sure where this came from. It is not identified, but this appeared in the Bay area about the same time as these other inflammatory posters.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 56-B"¹ and retained in committee files.)

MR. MONTGOMERY. And we had one other, too, called "No MORE POLICE BRUTALITY! in San Francisco. CITIZENS POLICE REVIEW BOARD." This was put out cosponsored by CORE and by Freedom House, which is an organization in the Fillmore district calling for the establishment of a police review board in San Francisco.

They circulated a petition trying to create a pressure vehicle to call on the board of supervisors for the establishment of such a board. It was unsuccessful.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 57" appears on pages 2112 and 2113.)

MR. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, does this conclude the presentation of your material on agitational activities conducted prior to the riot which broke out in September 1966?

MR. MONTGOMERY. It does. This concludes everything that I have with me up to the time of the riot; yes, sir.

MR. SMITH. Would you care to summarize your presentation up to this point?

MR. MONTGOMERY. Well, I feel that up to now, if I might summarize it, I would say that it indicates that agitational activities were conducted prior to the riots by the following groups, and I at one time or another named these various organizations:

There was the Direct Action Group, the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination, Progressive Labor Party—and its front, CERGE—the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs, the Communist Party U.S.A. (Marxist-Leninist), the Anarchist League. And in addition, of course, the Communist Party official newspaper, the *People's World*, for a number of years prior to the riot published a continuing barrage of inflammatory antipolice, racist, antigovernment racist articles, and I think it set the foundation for a gradual buildup of animosity within the minority groups toward law and order, toward the so-called Establishment, the term they like to use.

MR. SMITH. Now, to get to the riot itself, was there a particular incident that triggered it?

¹ Exhibit 56-B offered by Mr. Montgomery at this point is exactly the same as Wheeler Exhibit No. 50-A (pt. 3, p. 1300) except that it bears no indication of its source. The following notation appears at the bottom of Wheeler Exhibit No. 50-A:

"Issued by: HARLEM PROGRESSIVE LABOR CLUB, 336 Lenox Avenue, New York 10027. For additional copies send to: Progressive Labor Party: Chicago: 2049 North Dayton St., Los Angeles: 218 East 82nd Place, San Francisco: 3382 18th Street, California."

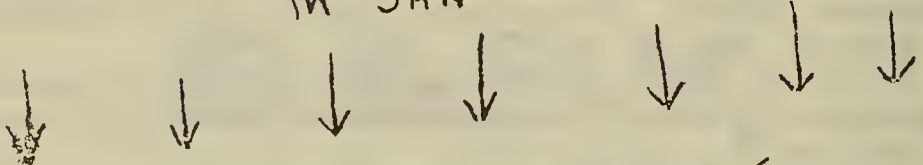
It is also interesting to note that a flyer reproducing the famous Army recruiting poster depiction of Uncle Sam pointing his finger but with the caption "Uncle Sam wants *YOU* nigger" was also distributed in Newark, N.J. (See Kinney Exhibit No. 19, pt. 4, p. 1911.)

June 66

No More POLICE

BRUTALITY!

in SAN FRANCISCO



MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 57—Continued

WHY WE MUST HAVE A CITIZEN'S POLICE REVIEW BOARD:

BECAUSE IT IS THE SPOTLIGHT THAT GETS POLICE BRUTALITY OUT OF THE DARK; BECAUSE IT IS THE POOR MAN'S PROTECTION FROM BRUTALITY IN THE HIDDEN RECESSES OF THE JAILS AND THE STREETS.

The police have no right to beat or abuse a child, a woman or a man because they looked at a cop in the wrong way, or because they were dressed wrong or talked wrong. In fact, the police have no right to beat a man even though he is guilty of a crime. So who gave the San Francisco police the right to find a man guilty of looking wrong and beating him for it?

WE NEED A REVIEW BOARD

A police review board made up of people from the neighborhood will be a place where we can file complaints about brutality or abuse and get justice.

SIGN OUR PETITION FOR A REVIEW BOARD!

And if you have any complaints about police brutality, CALL us.

COPE: JO 7-5929
1686 O'Farrell St.

FREEDOM HOUSE: JO 7-5214
1253 Fillmore St.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, there was. The riot itself happened on a Tuesday afternoon, the spark, on a Tuesday afternoon when a police officer—

The CHAIRMAN. What date?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. September 27, 1966.

—when a police officer in pursuit of three young Negro suspects whom he had flushed from a stolen car—he came upon the stolen car. They were in it; they fled. He couldn't chase all three of them. He did pursue one individual, encountered him on two different occasions, demanded that he stop, threatened to shoot, even fired a warning shot in the air, and finally, from a distance of more than 150 feet, did fire, and the boy was shot and was killed.

Now, this happened in the midafternoon on September 27, and by evening it had become quite a cause of discussion throughout the Hunter's Point area, and the agitators on the various street corners—groups were there, and they began gathering in size and numbers. The police became alarmed.

Before long there was looting, window-smashing; the thing grew. Finally that evening the police thought they had it quieted down pretty well. At that time they handled it on their own at first, and then even-

tually it grew in magnitude to where Chief Cahill was obliged to call in the National Guard troops and call in the highway patrol, particularly on the second day.

Late in the afternoon of the second day, police, in attempting to maintain order in the Hunter's Point area along Third Street, had blocked off traffic. During the night windshields were smashed, false alarms were sent in, firemen were pelted with bottles and rocks. General disturbance.

On the following afternoon along about 5 o'clock, as I recall, the police were fired upon from the second floor of the Bayview Community Center, which I spoke of earlier as the headquarters for the War on Poverty project in that area. And, of course, the police were obliged to return the fire.

I think it is significant that no one was killed in their return fire. They used buckshot and they purposely aimed at the lower extremity of the people they were shooting at. The 10 who were wounded suffered buckshot wounds in the legs. There was no shooting at heads. They weren't using rifles.

Then in addition to receiving fire from the second floor of the Bayview Center, there also was, on Newcomb Street just a half a block away, a Cadillac car parked in the driveway and there was rifle fire emanating at the police from under that vehicle. The police were obliged to storm the site, and the Cadillac was pretty well shot up. One of the three people who had been behind it suffered leg wounds from shotgun pellets.

Then at its height, particularly on the second day, the riot spread to the Fillmore district, which is quite some distance removed, but, of course, they were aware of what was happening at Hunter's Point. It was at this point they had to call in the National Guard.

They had to put guardsmen on the fire trucks to protect the firemen. They had highway patrolmen and police riding in two teams of two men each, four in a car.

Then the looting spread and robberies, burglaries. Actually, I could give you a brief idea of what the summation was as to the various offenses if you are interested in it, but it is contained in this report put out by Chief Cahill. It gives a very comprehensive breakdown as to what particularly happened.

For instance, there was one person fatally shot fleeing the stolen car; 161 persons reported injured, including 58 policemen, firemen.

I think I reviewed part of this earlier in my testimony.

Damage to civilian property was in excess of \$33,000; Government property damage, mostly police cars, fire engines, Government buildings, approximately \$12,000; losses by looting liquor stores and clothing stores, luggage shops, roughly \$91,000.

Actually, the entire riot was finally declared over. The "state of emergency" was ended after 128 hours, which is the title they gave in the report and the summation of what then occurred.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned previously that you have researched the *People's World* from January 1, 1962, to May 1968. Will you please continue with your testimony on that?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have, if you please, a copy of the *People's World* for April 1, 1967. This is after the riot, which bears the caption

“Police review is Oakland issue.” Here they are led by Elijah Turner, who is a militant Negro heading a militant group in Oakland.

(Document marked “Montgomery Exhibit No. 58” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Incidentally, he was a candidate for public office there—the city council. He was not elected. But he was setting up a clamor for a police review board in the city of Oakland. This was April 1, 1967.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Montgomery, because of the time limit would you mind submitting those documents for the record instead of reading them?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I shall.

Then on August 5, 1967, we have an article from the *People's World* and headed “Stop shooting down people because they steal something.” This was one that featured a speech by Howard Harawitz, who was one of the militant activist leaders in the Bay area, and it took exception to the fact that police had been obliged to shoot someone.

(Document marked “Montgomery Exhibit No. 59” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I am submitting a list of several articles from the *People's World*. Again you might notice, Mr. Chairman, every so often the patent cartoon always depicting the policemen beating some individual.

The CHAIRMAN. Those documents will be received.

(Documents marked “Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 60–A through K,” respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. You testified to the W. E. B. DuBois Club's racial agitation activity of an inflammatory nature prior to the riot. Has this organization continued this activity since the riot?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, yes. I want to say this. They have not been so active as they were previously. There has been a little dissension within the group. They have lost some of their members. There has been some rivalry between the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs and the Trotskyists, the Socialist Workers group.

For instance, Bettina Aptheker scheduled a 2-day conference on the Berkeley campus. They were going to have workshops and seminars. Unbeknown to her, Kipp Dawson of the Trotskyists group, the Socialist Workers Party, had sent out a quiet notice that the meeting was to be boycotted and as a consequence where she had expected 200 or 300 people only a piper's guard attended and the whole conference fell through by 11 in the morning.

So there has not been the activity from the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs that there had been previously. The Hallinans have shown a disinterest. They are not active in the W. E. B. DuBois Club as they once were or as they were prior to the riot. Then, too, the national headquarters of the W. E. B. DuBois Club was moved about that time from San Francisco to Chicago. With the movement of the headquarters and then subsequently, as I understand it, the loss of most of their records in Chicago, it became pretty well known who some of these leaders were behind the people out in front.

As a consequence there hasn't been too much activity by the W. E. B. DuBois Club as such. But in April 1968 their issue of the *INSUR-*

GENT shows on its cover a number of pictures of various demonstrations and inside is an article entitled "War on Racism," which, among other things, says:

STOP THE VIOLENCE AND TERROR AGAINST THE BLACK COMMUNITIES! STOP THE POLICY OF GENOCIDE AGAINST BLACK AMERICA! END RACISM IN ALL ITS FORMS!!

Then there is a cartoon showing President Johnson with his arm around a member of the Ku Klux Klan carrying a weapon, depicted here on page six of the *INSURGENT*. The tone of the *INSURGENT* runs consistent throughout and these are just a couple of the examples.

But since its national headquarters was moved, it has been rather quiet.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 61." Copy of cover page appears on page 2117.)

Mr. SMITH. You have also testified as to the racial agitation activity, that is, the inflammatory type of agitation, on the part of the Progressive Labor Party. Has this organization also continued this same activity since the riot?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, very much so; particularly not only as the PLP and *Spark*, which still remains in publication, but also through a front called the Mission Tenants Union that was set up by John Ross, whom I have mentioned. They have been active; yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Would you discuss the PLP first?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have an issue here of *Spark* which is for October 1966 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 62]. This is the first edition following the riot, and its tenor is "BLACK PEOPLE REVOLT," and "San Francisco Cop Murders—Black Community Fights Back." In other words, the Negro people have revolted, and the idea is they refer to Chief of Police Thomas Cahill as "Chief Killer Cahill."

The CHAIRMAN. As chief who?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. "Chief Killer," rather than Chief of Police Cahill. It is typical of the type of propaganda and it is still coming. This isn't the only issue. They have scenes that contain various pictures taken during the course of the riot which we have been discussing and, of course, some rather adverse photographs of President Johnson and other national dignitaries.

Wherever they can get a picture that would show him in an adverse light, they have used it. This is typical of the *Spark* newspaper, and it carries its own identification as the outlet of the Progressive Labor Party.

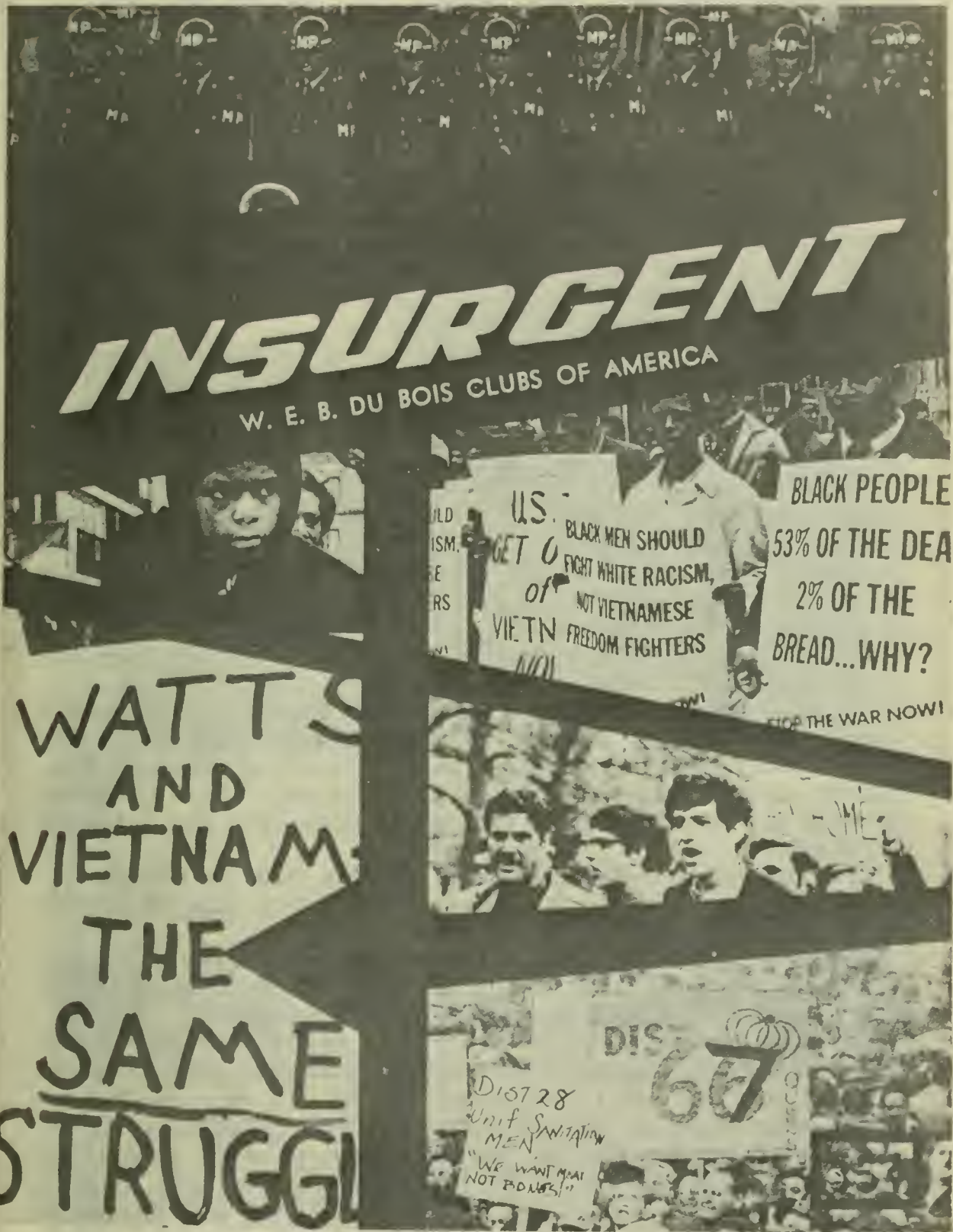
Mr. SMITH. Do you have any additional documents by the Progressive Labor Party that you would like to submit for the record?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have a two-page leaflet which was circulated in October of 1967 by the Progressive Labor Party through what they called the Bay Area Trade Union Section [Montgomery Exhibit No. 63]. They set up committees within their own organization. This is a résumé of the Progressive Labor Party's viewpoint on the riot which occurred September 27.

It reads in part:

In a split second on Tuesday, September 27, a San Francisco cop tried, sentenced and executed on the spot 16 year old Matthew Johnson of Hunters Point. He was shot in the back for suspected car theft. It is not the first time the people of Hunters Point have been attacked by cops, like Black people in cities all

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 61



over the country. But this time the whole community rebelled. The government responded with a military invasion. The National Guard, founded to crush the railroad strikes of 1877, last used in San Francisco to break the general strike in 1934, proven killers in the Watts uprising, were told to shoot to kill and many unarmed Black people were wounded.

This is their opening paragraph. They say, "‘RACE RIOT’ OR REBELLION?" It goes on:

What were the causes of the rebellion? Clearly this was not * * * a "race riot." Black and white mobs were not fighting one another. It was a battle between the cops and the ghetto people * * *.

That was the general nature of this leaflet printed by *Spark* and put out from the Progressive Labor headquarters in San Francisco.

I have also a leaflet they put out, "THE PLOT AGAINST BLACK AMERICA," and this was published by the Harlem branch of the Progressive Labor Party, but it was distributed, given wide distribution, in San Francisco and it again is depicting scenes of alleged police brutality [Montgomery Exhibit No. 64].

As I remarked earlier, you never see the scene that preceded the snapping of the camera. There is invariably something ahead of it we never see. It only shows the policeman in his worst light. There is something on the back page there, a caricature I was going to refer to. It is typical of the propaganda they are putting out.

There is a booklet called "BLACK LIBERATION—NOW!" The booklet itself accredits printing to the Black Liberation Commission of the Progressive Labor Party in Harlem, New York, and it was circulated in San Francisco in July of 1967. I don't know when it was printed, but it appeared in July of 1967 in San Francisco. Again it is highly racist and inflammatory material.

(Document previously marked "Wheeler Exhibit No. 49" in part 3 of these hearings and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Then I have a leaflet circulated by the Progressive Labor Party in early May of 1968 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 65]. This document supports the recent students' strike at Columbia University and it is simply a laudatory statement praising the Columbia students and those who participated with them, including a tribute to the SDS.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 62 through 65," respectively, and retained in committee files. Cover page of Exhibit 64 appears on page 2119.)

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, sir. A few minutes ago you stated you had information on an organization known as the Mission Tenants Union. Would you describe this organization and its activities?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It is an organization that was created by the Progressive Labor Party. It was headed up primarily by John Ross. In a leaflet they put out [Montgomery Exhibit No. 66], the Mission Tenants Union by its own admission states the Progressive Labor Party organized the Mission Tenants Union. In other words, they attribute their foundation to the Progressive Labor Party. It says, "ONLY A MONTH AND A HALF AGO, THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY WHICH ORGANIZED THE MISSION TENANTS UNION WAS FORCED TO MOVE," and so on and so forth.

Mr. SMITH. What was the purpose of this organization?

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 64



THE
PLOT
AGAINST
BLACK AMERICA

Published by the Harlem Branch of Progressive Labor Party

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It was to organize—at this point they are concentrating on the Mexican Americans rather than the Negroes in the Mission district of San Francisco, but Negroes as well. In this particular area, they are mostly Mexican Americans, and John Ross spent most of his time working with these people causing, oh, advocating rent controls, encouraging nonpayment of rents, fighting eviction notices, that type of thing.

Mr. SMITH. Who was the chairman of that organization?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. John Ross, it is my understanding.

Mr. SMITH. Who is John Ross?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It shows here that the chairman is John Ross, and it lists other cochairmen, the secretary, the treasurer. I have a document dated March 30, 1967, which gave the program for the night, what they were going to talk to. It identifies Ross as the chairman [Montgomery Exhibit No. 67].

Now, Ross himself, well, I don't know how much of the background I have on him except that he ran for the board of supervisors, or at least he announced he intended to file for the board of supervisors and he failed to meet a requirement.

You have to be a resident of San Francisco for 5 years to run as a candidate for the board of supervisors, and he had not met that requirement, but he did file a statement for intention of election. So, as a consequence, his name was left off the official printed ballot. He was going to take the matter to court. The court would not hear it. He just did not qualify and so he campaigned as a write-in candidate and he got a very minimal number of votes.

Mr. SMITH. Has he been in jail?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, he has a jail record. He was arrested recently for inciting a riot and fighting right there at his own headquarters. But he had served time prior to that. The record itself—I am not sure if I have a copy of the record of John Ross, of his arrest record, but I do know that he has served time.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, it is to be noted that John Ross has served a 6-month sentence in 1964 for evading the draft as a matter of committee record.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. And I believe—it is my recollection, sir, that was in New York City. He was convicted in New York City as a draft evader.

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

In your answer to the previous question you mentioned the Mission Tenants Union branched out into fields other than aiding poverty-stricken families. Would you care to enlarge on this, please?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have a leaflet distributed by John Ross and headed "STOP POLICE ATTACKS ON THE PEOPLE!" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 68]. This was given wide distribution through the auspices of the Mission Tenants Union, actually it is a political campaign piece of literature on behalf of John Ross, but his platform was police brutality and police attacks on the public.

This was the main plank of his platform in seeking election. Also, he cited the address, 2929 16th Street, which is their present headquarters. It might be worth noting that this is directly across the street from the San Francisco Labor Temple, where they have made efforts to recruit members from within the ranks of organized labor in San Francisco. They have not done too well.

Then on March 7, the San Francisco Police Department arrested Ross and others at a benefit party sponsored by the Draft Resistance Union. I have an article, a newspaper publication for August 7, 1967, stating the persons arrested resisted arrest and there were several in-

juries both to the arresting officers and the persons arrested [Montgomery Exhibit No. 69].

This turned out to be a regular Donnybrook over in the Mission district and, of course, immediately the cry went up of police brutality. The police were resolved to make these arrests and if they had to use force to do it, why that was what followed and, of course, they then became brutality incidents:

Six policemen were injured and ten persons arrested—one a candidate for the Board of Supervisors—when a benefit party for the San Francisco Draft Resistance Union erupted into a bloody affray early yesterday.

It describes Ross and the fact he is a warehouseman and he served 6 months for draft evasion.

It tells of four policemen who were jumped by 20 individuals in Ross' presence at that time. It gives a rather full account of what happened. The history of the case is, there was too much noise, disturbance, the people in the adjoining building complained. Officers went there to quiet the thing down and immediately were subject to a vile and obscene attack orally, and one thing led to another until finally from the top of the stairs one policeman was struck by a thrown object and the show was on the road.

I have also a flyer titled "MISSION PEOPLE BATTLE COP TERROR" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 70]. This is an account put out by John Ross of what happened. This was put out by the Mission Tenants Union—a joint operation, the Mission Tenants Union, the Mission Committee Against the War, Students for a Democratic Society, Progressive Labor Party, Black Anti-Draft Union, and S.F. Draft Resistance Union.

This just about covered the field. The flyer is on the event of the Saturday night when 10 patrol cars of police were accused of disrupting the affair that was under way. It is typical of the propaganda put out and it is always inflammatory, alleging police brutality.

That would about conclude what I have on Ross himself. I may have one other thing here. The *Spark* publication of Progressive Labor Party, in its August 1967 edition carried the following headlines, "S.F. COPS PLOT TERROR" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 71]. It is typical propaganda put out by Ross charging them with having "viciously beat[en] John Ross into unconsciousness and arrested nine others," and so on.

It is in keeping with the other flyers that were sent out except that this was John Ross' own paper or the Progressive Labor Party paper which he edited, so it is an editor writing about himself, in effect.

Then there is another leaflet, "STOP THE COPS!" put out also by Ross, although distributed by the United Resistance Fund [Montgomery Exhibit No. 72]. This was a new one that sprung up. They come and they go. We didn't hear much about the United Resistance Fund except that it was raising money for the defense of John Ross and these nine others who were arrested at this disturbance at his headquarters at the party that was given earlier in the week.

It was simply another allegation of police brutality and soliciting funds from the public at large. There is no way of knowing how much

was picked up or how much was received, but they did get cash contributions.

Mr. SMITH. When he ran for supervisor [as a write-in candidate] what was his platform?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. According to another leaflet which was distributed, one plank was "Stop Police Brutality" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 73].

Mr. SMITH. You have indicated that Ross was not successful in the election?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. No, he did not get a handful of votes.

Mr. SMITH. Is the Mission Tenants Union still in existence?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, it is very much less active than it was. We don't hear too much about it. I would say it was dormant rather than out of business, because there is some talk now, through the Progressive Labor Party publication, *Spark*, they are calling for a petition. They want to get up a petition with enough signatures to put on the November ballot a measure which would require rent controls for the city of San Francisco. I don't think they are meeting with too much success.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 66 through 73," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, the Afro-American Institute located at 1686 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, has come to the attention of this committee. Are you familiar with this organization?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I am. I have a document dated February 2, 1967, which reflects the organization was first organized in January 1967 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 74].

Mr. SMITH. What were the primary goals of this organization?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Their goals appear to be legitimate, at least in a sense. There are flyers; they say [in this one]:

The AFRO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE wishes to express its gratitude and appreciation for your presence and support given at our first public meeting. As a follow-up of that meeting, there will be an orientation session for all interested Afro-Americans.

This will be the first in a series of orientation meetings to acquaint you with the objectives and goals of the AFRO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE; and the Economic Development Fund. The goal of the Economic Development Fund will be to build areas of power owned and controlled by Black people including: youth organization; industry of the Black community; banks owned by Afro-Americans; co-operatives; * * *

that sort of thing.

They have carried out one cooperative there. They got in financial trouble through a couple of armed robberies committed by blacks and poor management; they went in the hole and recently one of the major private firms, Safeway Stores, has stepped in and loaned them personnel, management, and a little refinancing and stocking of their shelves. My last report is that this cooperative is now doing pretty well, but under the guidance of people from private industry who have stepped in to help them out as a gesture of good will to the area.

There is another document setting forth the philosophy of the Afro-American Institute and it names its board of directors [Montgomery Exhibit No. 75]. Another document, which is a five-page document headed "AFRO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE FINANCIAL PROPOSAL," sets forth again their program, job training, job placement

in the black community, factories in the black community, cultural centers, hospitals, prenatal centers, a revolving educational loan [Montgomery Exhibit No. 76].

The objectives as set forth here would be considered legitimate objectives.

Mr. SMITH. Were they attempting to get any Government funding for that program?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I believe so. I believe there was some Federal funding. I know they had an operating budget, and the fund was operational, between 10 and 20 percent of the funds would be used for operating expenses of the American Institute.

They did receive some financial support, mostly, in my recollection, through the Small Business Administration, as I recall.

Mr. SMITH. Who was the organizer of the Afro-American Institute?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Bill Bradley of San Francisco was the organizer. He is a graduate of San Francisco schools and San Francisco State College. He attended Hastings College of the Law in 1961. He withdrew in 1963 to devote full time to activities of the Congress of Racial Equality.

He became a functionary of CORE. He was born in San Francisco on August 8, 1939.

I have a clipping from the *San Francisco Examiner* dated June 2, 1964, which describes Bradley as a "controversial San Francisco CORE chairman and a central figure in nearly every demonstration in The City [San Francisco] for more than a year" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 77].

To my recollection, he is very militant, extremely militant, aggressive, and he was sort of eased out—although he was one of the founders or the principal founders of the Afro-American Institute, he was eased out of the picture at the time he went into CORE.

He has been jailed. He has drawn fines. I don't know what has become of him in recent weeks. It has been a few months since I heard from him, but he was a highly militant individual. He worked with, and he was in concert with, Tracy Sims, who was then chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee To End Discrimination, and he was among those arrested in the participation of the Sheraton-Palace demonstration and he was arrested on April 11, 1964, in the Auto Row civil disobedience demonstration and he has written as a columnist for the *Sun-Reporter*, which is a Negro publication in the Fillmore. On September 25, as an example of his writing, his attitude toward the police department is expressed in his column, which carries his byline and his picture [Montgomery Exhibit No. 78]. He wrote, among other things, quoting "a young soul brother" whose remarks, he said, "were not the words of a lunatic, or a fool":

"Man the cops gotta die, we ought to burn Fillmore just like the dudes burned Watts."

"The dude was mad," and they refer to "dude" as the militant in this sense. [Continues reading:]

The dude was mad because his brothers were unarmed; he was mad because a white cop was running his 365 day-a-year game of Nigger hunting * * *.

* * * * *

Now dig, those young bloods didn't cause all of that hell, white folks caused it * * * like our Mayor who hasn't done a thing to stop police brutality * * *.

He continues:

When we stop letting the cop come upside our heads; when we decide that we will fight fire with fire the fat cat downtown will understand. Mess with that white man's dollar and he hollers. When we are able to stare whitey square in the face and tell him to step over, black folks are coming, then and only then, will we have a chance of overcoming.

This was the tenor of his writings.

Incidentally, he drew a 45-day jail sentence for his participation in the Sheraton [sit-in]. He also wrote in the *Sun Reporter* in calling for a review board, "POLICE BRUTALITY RAGES" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 79]. Typical of his line he was espousing, he made charges of police brutality and called for the formation of a citizens police review board. Then on March 26, 1965, the *Examiner* reported that "The City's Human Rights Commission yesterday turned down a request from Bill Bradley" as head of the CORE in San Francisco "to hold a public meeting on 'police brutality'" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 80]. He wanted to stage a public meeting, and his request was denied.

Also from a newspaper clipping in San Francisco [*S. F. Chronicle* July 25, 1967] to the effect that Bill Bradley, former Congress of Racial Equality leader, had been let out of the capacity as well, but was known as the executive director of the Afro-American Institute, the past executive director, "announced plans yesterday for a national Black Holiday celebration August 14-20" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 81].

He made some rather elaborate plans for this demonstration, and it was to be held in the honor of Marcus Garvey, whom Bradley described as "the father of black nationalism." He related discussing recent violence in Newark and Detroit and other cities. Bradley said:

They're rebellions, not riots. And we believe the only thing that will eliminate rebellions is white people. When you get off our backs we'll get off your backs.

Referring to the whites. That is an example of the tenor of Bill Bradley's contribution to the literary world. To the best of my recollection, that black holiday never came off.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any other documents to submit for the record in that connection?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Other than in mid-December there was a leaflet posted and distributed.

Mr. SMITH. Is that December 1967?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That is correct. In mid-December 1967 there was posted and distributed widely a leaflet that reads, "UNITED STATES CONCENTRATION CAMPS ARE READY! FOR ALL BLACK PEOPLE," and it referred to Tule Lake and El Reno Concentration Camps as "just a short drive from San Francisco" and "Can Hold 20,000 Black People!!" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 82].

This was posted by William Bradley himself, from the Afro-American Institute, and it gives the address and the phone number in San Francisco. It refers there to Tule Lake, "just a short drive." Naturally there is no truth to this because there have been no concentration camps built at Tule Lake or El Reno.

There were relocation centers there during World War II for the Japanese who were detained for a while on the West Coast. I have been

to Tule Lake within the past 3 years and when I last saw Tule Lake, potatoes are now growing where the main detention barracks were at that time.

There are a few old buildings left around, and I am talking about a period prior to this announcement. There are not sufficient facilities of that kind at Tule Lake today to serve the purpose that he is talking about.

Mr. SMITH. That was pure propaganda?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Pure, outright propaganda.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 74 through 82," respectively, Exhibits Nos. 74-81 retained in committee files; No. 82 follows:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 82

UNITED STATES CONCENTRATION CAMPS ARE READY!

FOR ALL BLACK PEOPLE



Tule Lake and El Reno Concentration Camps
Tule Lake, just a short drive from San Francisco
Can Hold 20,000 Black People!!

When the hunkey starts playing German, we are not going to play Jew. Brothers and Sisters, get it together (now!) before it is too late! Join the

AFRO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

1915 Ellis Street - San Francisco 94115 - 346-8100

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to state for the record that there is a lot of agitation about Government concentration camps for Negroes, as this committee is well aware. I would point out at this stage that as a part of this agitational propaganda exercise, the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, a well-known Communist-front organization, commissioned Charles R. Allen, Jr., to write a pamphlet on the subject entitled *Concentration Camps USA*, which was copyrighted in 1966.

I wish to submit this pamphlet for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The document will be admitted for the record.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 83" and retained in committee files.)

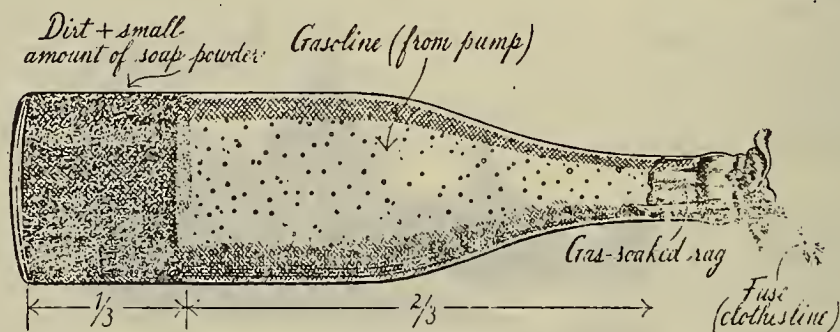
Mr. MONTGOMERY. There is one other matter of interest that was given wide circulation. "ARM AND PREPARE—NOW!! STRIKE BACK AT WHITE RACIST COPS AND BUSSINESSES [sic]"; "URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE!" And it gives an example of how to prepare a Molotov cocktail, complete with a diagram, a bottle with the gasoline and even the weight at the bottom of the bottle, enough dirt to make it weighted.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 84" follows:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 84

ARM AND PREPARE—NOW!!

STRIKE BACK AT WHITE RACIST COPS AND BUSSINESSES



URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE!

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I might say just about the time that was being circulated, given wide circulation, there was an incident in San Francisco. Thanks to some preliminary neighborhood relations work done by Police Chief Thomas Cahill in San Francisco, who is a very capable administrator, he had established a good relationship with the Negro community, the solid community. He learned early in September last year that there had been widespread talk of more trouble, more trouble, we were going to have another long hot summer.

Thanks to a reputable Negro couple in San Francisco he was advised that their 17-year-old son had precise knowledge of a plan to hold an anniversary riot in San Francisco that was going to start in the Fillmore district. This was to mark the anniversary of the September 1966 riot.

While the 17-year-old youth didn't know precisely where these Molotov cocktails were, he had knowledge that 800 Molotov cocktails had

been prepared and were stored in an empty apartment in the Fillmore district to be used on the eve marking the anniversary of the earlier riot.

Chief Cahill assigned plainclothesmen to work the Fillmore area, block by block, building by building, and for 4 days they searched for the apartment. Finally just a matter of just a few hours before this second riot was to have been sparked or triggered, they did find the apartment. In this empty apartment there were not 800 Molotov cocktails as the boy had reported; there were something like 475 cocktails up to full quart size, some of them, lined up, ready for use, in such a way that they would be handed out.

They would be handed out. They would come through one door and be handed a Molotov cocktail and go out the other door, and there would not be any confusion.

These were discovered around 3 or 4 in the afternoon, and the riot was originally scheduled for 8 or 9 that night.

Mr. SMITH. Can you give us a date on that?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This would be September, the night of September 26, 1967. This was never publicized in print; we made nothing of it in print because we didn't want to alarm people. All the police knew was there might be another cache of Molotov cocktails somewhere, and it was felt best not to report this. As a matter of fact, it was not reported to the press generally. I came upon it through my own connections.

But I think it significant about a reputable member of the Negro community. This is very similar to an experience I had recently where I was investigating a murder case in Hunter's Point.

The murder of a white municipal bus driver, shot and killed by four young Negro youths in a robbery that netted them probably \$40. There had been two girls on that bus. When the police arrived they were in the process of interrogating them when some sniper fire broke out up the street in which a United States sailor was shot and wounded while coming out of the Hunter's Point Naval Base.

The police were diverted. Their attention was diverted to the sniper and when they returned—by the time they returned, the two girls had disappeared. Well, I had occasion to go looking for them. I was successful in finding them, but it entailed quite a bit of doorbell-ringing in the Hunter's Point area. In the course of my rounds I met an elderly Negro woman in the community there at Hunter's Point who invited me in for a cup of coffee.

I spent about an hour and 10 minutes talking with her. She was very proud of the fact that her two sons had completed high school and graduated and one went on to get 2 years of junior college, and that their daughter finished high school and was married to a young Negro man who had a responsible job with a good firm in San Francisco.

She was proud of the fact that they had not received a dime of welfare from the time they came from Louisiana in the late forties to work in the shipyards. She went on to say that she and the other members of the community she knew, her friends, wanted no part of H. Rap Brown or Stokely Carmichael. They wanted no part of LeRoi Jones and as a matter of fact, after he had gotten off on the Vietnam situation, they had sort of lost some confidence in Martin Luther King.

She said they were being intimidated by a very small group of Negro nationalists. She said that they lost faith in King when he got off into politics concerning the Vietnam situation.

Now by contrast, two doors up the street, a woman answered the door. She first thought I was a policeman. I convinced her I was a reporter and she said, "I can't talk to you. If that man across the street sees me talking to you, I am in trouble. You get out of here."

This is the difference. In connection with this same case I am referring to, it took a great deal of perseverance on the part of the police and the coroner to get one of these girls and the mother who had knowledge of this event to testify. They were afraid to testify and they refused to testify in a morning session because they were afraid of reprisal.

During the noon recess Cahill's men arranged to have her moved out of the Hunter's Point project to another place. They moved them out that same afternoon, and it is a good thing they did because at 1 in the morning that apartment was fired upon by two fire bombs. They would have been in the upstairs bedroom and they could not have gotten out, or if they had gotten out they would have been badly burned.

This is the type of militant intimidation that is going on in Hunter's Point today.

Mr. ICHORD. At that point may I intervene and ask a question? What is the source of the material on the Molotov cocktail?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. What is the source of this, sir?

The source is not given. There is none. It was not identified, but it was left on park benches, on mailboxes. Sometimes you would find as many as a dozen of them simply thrown and left lying on a fire plug, or wherever, particularly near bus stops. Thousands of these were run off, but there is no identification. To this day, so far as I know, the police have not ascertained precisely where that came from.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned the distribution of inflammatory literature during this situation. Do you have any example of such literature?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have one thing here, Mr. Counsel, that is a pretty sorry exhibit. I am not even sure you will want it for your records. It depicts a policeman raping the Statue of Liberty, a second policeman raping the Goddess of Justice while being held in both instances by other police officers.

I might say this is one of the most vile, obscene pieces of literature that I have seen disseminated in San Francisco, yet this was given wide circulation, particularly in the Haight-Ashbury and in the Fillmore. It is the work, again, of Cieciorka and his name is C-i-e-c-i-o-r-k-a.

Mr. SMITH. Can you give a date of about the time that was distributed?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This was distributed early this year. I first saw it along about in January.

Mr. SMITH. Of 1968?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It may have been earlier than that.

Mr. SMITH. I request that we receive this document for the files, Mr. Chairman, rather than for the record.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I might say that his wife, the wife of the artist, was among those who were expelled from Mexico recently. She and

others were on their way to Cuba and they were intercepted in Mexico City, about six or seven of them. She was one of them and they were taken back to the U.S. border and forced back into Texas. They were on their way to Cuba, ostensibly a trip financed by the pro-Castro forces.

Mr. ICHORD (presiding). The document will be received for the files. (Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 85" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned Cieciorka in connection with this poster here and one other incident preceding. Can you identify him a little better for the record?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I know he is a native. I do know this, his middle name is Thomas, Frank Thomas Cieciorka, Jr. He was born in Binghamton, New York, on April 26, 1939. He first came to the attention of the intelligence agents there in the Bay area in about August of 1959. This was in regard to a march from San Jose, which is about 50 miles south of San Francisco, a march from San Jose into San Francisco, sponsored by the Acts for Peace. It was in protest of the Atomic Energy program and the explosion of atomic weapons in the atmosphere.

I have a leaflet that was put out by that committee at that time. It gave a tentative schedule for the march. It bears his signature, not only his typewritten name, but his signature as well, and it lists him as one of the three coordinators and chairmen of this particular march [Montgomery Exhibit No. 86].

He was a signer of a call to the national founding convention of a socialist youth organization, that is, the founding convention of W. E. B. DuBois Club. He signed the call for that meeting and I have the call document received June 11, 1964, showing he represented an organization called Toward an Active Student Community, TASC, it was known as, T-A-S-C, at San Jose State College. It has a general scene of student protesters on its masthead [Montgomery Exhibit No. 87].

It sets forth a program and it sets forth individuals clear down to the high school level—individuals who could be contacted and who to contact to join this organization. It listed some 62 names, some of whom are known to us, some are new. But it ran from Berkeley High School all the way back to the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis, Minnesota. There are listed scores of names clear across the country, Missouri; San Francisco to New York; North Dakota; Louisville, Kentucky; Portland, Oregon. They lined up quite a deal, and their counsel was Matthew Hallinan. This was, in part, the founding convention in which he participated, the call for the founding of the W. E. B. DuBois Club.

Then also the *Spartan Daily*, the San Jose State College paper, May 28, 1965, reported that Frank Cieciorka, among others, will burn his draft card in protest, to protest "the U.S. government's undeclared war against the peoples of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic." [Montgomery Exhibit No. 88].

I have here an account of that burning and even a picture [Montgomery Exhibit No. 89]. While the face is not shown, it does show the hands, the burning of the draft cards on the San Jose State campus. Again, the event did take place, pictures were taken.

Then there is an article which appeared in the *People's World* of July 16, 1966 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 90]. It stated that he would participate in a panel discussion of the annual *People's World* Art and Book Fair festival and the topic of discussion: "Art—is it a political weapon?" It was from this particular discussion and this art fair that one very vile exhibit appeared shortly after that. That was typical of the stuff that he was teaching.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 86 through 90," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Counsel, the bells have sounded. I am sure that the witness and also the reporter would appreciate a rest. The committee will be in recess until I answer the rollcall and return. We will resume as soon as I answer.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. ICHORD (presiding). The hearing will come to order.

Mr. Counsel, you may resume the questioning of the witness.

The Chair will announce that I have an appointment at 4:45, so we will continue until then if the witness can hold out that long, and the reporter.

Mr. SMITH. A few minutes ago you mentioned the discovery of several hundred Molotov cocktails in an apartment ready for use in the anniversary celebration of the riot in San Francisco. Have there been any other incidents of a somewhat similar nature?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, there have, sir. Back in March, on March 26, three Negroes were arrested following a militant meeting. There had been a meeting at Hunter's Point of a militant nature, and following that three of them were observed in the process of buying a 5-gallon can of gasoline at a service station. The search of the car by police uncovered the material for the making of Molotov cocktails, for which gasoline is a primary ingredient.

They all were arrested and booked and all three were charged with possession of fire bombs. One of the three was arrested for the possession of a concealed weapon; he was carrying a gun. Also, on the front seat of the car was a map, a regular city map printed by one of the oil companies, on which certain tracings had been made.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, if I may interrupt at this point, our investigative staff has secured a copy of this map, which I would like to pass to Mr. Montgomery and have him explain the tracings and the locations so identified.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 91" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The first place to be noted on the map is a single dwelling which is located at 19th Avenue near Santiago Street. The only structure or place of importance at this location is the office of Standard Building Company, Inc., at 2222 19th Avenue, which firm constructed Sunstream Homes near Daly City. This project was restricted to the sale to Caucasians and it is outside the city limits, incidentally, where the homes were. It was the focal point of earlier discussions and demonstrations among minority groups.

The tracings then proceeded from the area of this headquarters in this building company to a traffic circle at Claremont and Dewey Boulevard. The circle in this area is traced on the map in the vicinity of the home of supervisor Terry Francois. Terry Francois is a Negro, but he has been designated an Uncle Tom by the black militants. They

have no use for him. To my knowledge he is a very fine man. He is a member of the board of supervisors and a very able and capable gentleman.

The tracing on the map then continues from the home of Terry Francois, or from that area, to the Youth Guidance Center, which is located near the top of the Twin Peaks, right at the head of Market Street as you go over the gap there and that is the juvenile facility for the city and county of San Francisco.

Now bear in mind that many of these militants have repeatedly called for immediate liberation of all Negroes in any jail, detention home, prison, or whatever, regardless of what they are in there for, and at the Youth Guidance Center about 85 percent of the youths incarcerated there are Negroes. So whether there was going to be an attempt to spring them remains to be seen.

Then from there the map concludes with a drawing of what is known as Christmas Tree Hill. That is a point right up on Twin Peaks. It is the northerly peak whereon are located all of the police communication transmission towers, and this also is a circled place on the map, the indication being that these two towers were to be the targets for this particular expedition that was broken up when the police arrested these men.

The map was in their possession.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, sir. Now, Mr. Montgomery, changing the tenor a little bit, we have heard a lot about the hippie movement in San Francisco. What is their position regarding the police?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The hippies don't like the police. They never have and they are very antipolice.

They put out some flyers, one in July of 1967 and another one subsequent to that intimating that there was going to be trouble. The first flyer [Montgomery Exhibit No. 92] says:

NOW ABOUT THAT RIOT—IF IT HASN'T HAPPENED YET—BEWARE!

A race riot seems just about inevitable. Lots of people on both sides want it to happen, & they're all the kind of people who generally get what they want.

This is couched in typical hippie terms: "WATCH THE COMMUNICATION COMPANY," that is their inner "underground" press deal, "& THE BARB FOR THRILLING STORIES OF POLICE BRUTALITY AT THE CITY JAIL. COMING SOON."

Then they go into some of this, the terminology I don't think you would want to have in the record. It gets a little vile in places. "Please: if anything starts to happen," if there is going to be a riot, "cut out." That means get out. It continues:

Get off the street & out of the area. If you're on Haight St., it's smarter (probably) to move uphill than down. Head west, if you can, to Golden Gate Park & keep going until you get beyond the noise. It's probably safe to stay in the park. In other cities, the action has centered around buildings.

Another flyer advises them where to go and what to do when a disturbance does break [Montgomery Exhibit No. 93]. It says, also, "SURVIVE, BABY," and:

Sorry to bring you down, but this is about the riots our black brothers have planned for the city. There isn't much hope that they won't occur.

What do they mean to you, as white hippies, et. al.?

Riots mean that the black people are going to be busy and would appreciate your getting out of the way. * * *

It goes on from there that :

Curfew means if they see you they will bust you and if you run they will shoot you. * * *

* * * * *

Within the black people's mind they will be fighting a revolution. If you hamper them in any way, you will be their cherry.

Meaning you are apt to get it.

From there it goes on to advise them to look out, this will be "an excuse for uncontrolled brutality" by the cops, "so don't," in a four-letter word, "with them either." This is the way this is couched in pretty sad expressions.

It refers to :

Police can be expected to search house to house for snipers and looters, and will probably smash everything they touch.

It is antipolice but it is also a warning to the hippies to get out of the policemen's way and stay clear of the riots.

These were flyers that were distributed throughout the Haight-Ashbury hippie area.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 92 and 93," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, are you familiar with an organization in San Francisco known as the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I am. I personally checked into this organization and subsequently wrote an article which I will refer to later in my testimony.

Mr. SMITH. Do you know when this organization was formed?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Approximately July 14, 1967. I have a letter in which the organization is mentioned, from which I will read the following [Montgomery Exhibit No. 94]. "July 14, 1967." The letter went on about antidissent legislation that is "gaining dangerous strength in Washington." It refers to the Cramer bill—it "will come to a vote in the House this Wednesday," and it refers to the Pool bill—

a product of last August's riotous House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, is again being pushed by HUAC in an attempt to stop the debate over Vietnam. Will you endorse and support the advertisement on the following page, to be placed in the *San Francisco Chronicle*?

It is a solicitation for funds, telling them they must have the money right away and asking for a \$5 contribution. It bears the names of seven persons, some of whom are known to me.

Then there was distributed and given wide distribution—this was in July of 1967, about mid-July is when the call went out—a call to a meeting to be held in the Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park [Montgomery Exhibit No. 95]. The meeting was set for Saturday, July 22, 1967, at 1 o'clock.

The call that went out bore seven names, some of whom are known to me to be members of the Communist Party. They list, among others, Beverly Axelrod, a San Francisco attorney; Don Rothenberg, East Bay; their phone numbers are given in each instance; Howard Harawitz, Berkeley; Brownlee Shirek—and I have also seen that spelled S-h-e-r-i-e-k; Joe Feit of Oakland; Billie Wachter of San Jose. The name Billie is a woman. That is the mother of Douglas Wachter, the wife of Saul Wachter. Next is Isabelle Cerney, who lives on the Penin-

sula down near Palo Alto. These were identified as the coordinators, Axelrod and Rothenberg, the general coordinators.

The purpose of this meeting was to start to organize the black community and also it was titled, "LONG HOT SUMMER—A CALL TO ACTION." The purpose was to give a bigger understanding to the black power movement and also launching their campaign to organize the poor whites along with the Negroes.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 94 and 95," respectively, follow:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 94

July 14, 1967

Dear Friend,

Two pieces of anti-dissent legislation are gaining dangerous strength in Washington. The Cramer Bill (see enclosed analysis) will come to a vote in the House this Wednesday. The Pool Bill, a product of last August's riotous House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, is again being pushed by HUAC in an attempt to stop the debate over Vietnam. Will you endorse and support the advertisement on the following page, to be placed in the San Francisco Chronicle?

A Bay Area Emergency Action Committee is forming to act against attacks on the ghetto community, including such legislative assaults as the Cramer Bill. An emergency public meeting will be held at the Hall of Flowers, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, at 1 p.m., Saturday, July 22nd. We would like to place the advertisement next Friday to help publicize that meeting. (It would be impossible to place an ad before the Wednesday vote, but there will still be a vote on the Cramer and Pool Bills in the Senate, and a vote on the Pool Bill in the House.) SINCE TEXT HAS TO BE IN TO THE CHRONICLE SEVERAL DAYS IN ADVANCE, PLEASE REPLY IMMEDIATELY. We ask that at least a \$5.00 contribution be enclosed to help finance the ad.

Sincerely,

GERALD N. HILL, President, C. D. C.
REV. EDWARD L. PEET, Chairman, Committee to Abolish HUAC
EDWARD M. KEATING, Congressional Candidate, San Mateo
WILL USSERY, National Chairman, CORE
TREVOR THOMAS, No. Calif. & Nevada Director, Vietnam Summer
REV. A. CECIL WILLIAMS
SUPERVISOR JACK MORRISON, San Francisco
CARL E. SCHORSKE, Professor of History, University of Calif.
(initiating signers)

(jar)

LONG HOT SUMMER — A CALL TO ACTION

Recently a large group of people formerly active in civil rights received a unique call for a new kind and quality of involvement in the struggle to achieve racial justice in this country. The challenge to this new type of involvement came from representatives of the Black community in the Bay Area who were concerned about the growing indications of apathy, disillusionment, and weakening of commitment among white people, apparently due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of Black Power and of the significance of recent turns taken by the Civil Rights movement.

Among these concerned black citizens were: Elijah Turner, Thomas Valentine, Kermit J. Scott, Kenneth Simmons, Ron Dellums, James E. Vann, Savannah Bello, LaVerne Tribble, W.B. Faddis, Lawrence T. Gurley, Ronald Stevenson, Sid Walton, Robert Neville, James Nolon Jr., Charles Fountin, Donald R. Hopkins, Harold Supriano, Carolyn Craven, Aba Ramos, Ellis Sheppard, Joan M. Davis.

In response to this call some seventy five concerned citizens from the greater Bay Area met to initiate action. The need as we see it is to effectively combat what appears to be an alarming growth of racism in the white community, and an increasing use of what many regard as police state methods in handling unrest in black ghettos. This situation necessitates an immediate campaign of action and education directed toward the white community. Reaching those persons in the white community who are in a position to make decisions that vitally affect both the lives of black people and the welfare of the entire community, is particularly important. We agree that this is a task that white people are uniquely qualified to carry out.

Because of your past activity we ask your participation in an emergency meeting and rally to begin such a campaign. Because of the urgency of the situation (the long hot summer is already bloody in close to a dozen cities) the meeting will be held

SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1967 ; 1:00 P.M.

THE HALL OF FLOWERS

GOLDEN GATE PARK (near 9th avenue and Lincoln Way), San Francisco

Although the interests of those who attend will be varied the main focus of this meeting will be to deal with the deepening Summer Crisis. Already appointments have been made with many public and private officials and agencies to confer with delegations to be organized at the emergency meeting. Our goal is to develop constructive programs in the critical areas of unemployment and police-community relations. We also look forward to the establishment of a permanent organization which will actively support the Black people's concern for achieving racial justice in this country.

This meeting is urgent. Please be there if at all possible.

BAY AREA EMERGENCY ACTION COMMITTEE

Coordinators

*Beverly Axelrod, San Francisco, LO-4-2669

*Don Rothenberg, East Bay, 526-0210

Howard Harawitz, Berkeley, 843-0984; Brownlee Shirek, 848-2172

Joe Felt, Oakland, 532-6959

Billie Wachter, San Jose, 258-0439

Isabelle Cerney, Peninsula, 854-6967

*General Coordinators.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Now there also was made at that meeting a call which went out for funds. A proposal was made by Robert Avakian, who is the son of a superior court judge in Alameda County. Robert Avakian handed out circulars, which he called a radical proposal. This was the first meeting of record of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee.

The San Jose area also participated and helped to organize the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee. An attachment was made to Exhibit 95 which reads: "Dear Friend: Please give your attention to the enclosed Call to Action. We of the San Jose area supporting this call feel that your attendance is urgent. If you need a ride, call 297-2299."

The names that went out on that call were Merdelle Porter, Emma Gelders Sterne, Maureen Smith, Andrew Montgomery, Vivian Fink, Charlotte A. Rogers, David Newman, Russ and Dorothy Cline, Sol Zeltzer, Robert Wright, Sophie Mendoza, Peter Szego, Billie Wachter, Pat Sherman, Yvonne Nakamura, Saul Wachter.

Now, among those known to be identified as members of the Communist Party are Peter Szego; Billie Wachter, whom I previously mentioned; and Saul Wachter, her husband, which would indicate, sir, that the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee right from its founding session was part and parcel of a Communist-front organization.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned Beverly Axelrod a few minutes ago. Can you further identify this person?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Beverly Axelrod, well, I will refer to a *News-Call Bulletin* article that appeared on July 29, 1960, an article concerning an interview with her [Montgomery Exhibit No. 96]. The article states that:

She joined the National Lawyers Guild before she passed the bar in 1949 and has been continuously active in the organization which counts civil rights as one of its prime interests.

I have a picture of her and the interview which appeared at that time.

I have a letter dated June 4, 1962 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 97]. The letterhead bears the name of Beverly Axelrod as a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild, San Francisco chapter.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point the committee staff investigation has confirmed that Mrs. Beverly Axelrod as of this date is a member in good standing of the National Lawyers Guild. I might remind the chairman that our *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* cites the National Lawyers Guild as a Communist front.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I make reference to the *San Francisco Examiner*, September 4, 1963, wherein it is reported that Mrs. Axelrod was a volunteer lawyer for the Congress of Racial Equality and toured the South on a voter's registration drive [Montgomery Exhibit No. 98]. Again a picture of Mrs. Axelrod in which she said, referring to what she experienced down South, "We just don't realize what it's like." "For Negroes, it's a police state."

It is an antipolice interview in the main.

I also have an article from the *San Francisco Examiner* of July 9, 1964, which tells of local CORE having its problems [Montgomery Exhibit No. 99]. The story in itself is that Bill Bradley and the more militant members of the local chapter of CORE are slated for a subordinate role in the civil rights demonstration during the Republican convention.

The article relates that:

The chapter is beset with financial troubles and has been admonished by responsible leaders within the Negro community to refrain from acts of civil disobedience.

The chapter's treasury was hard hit by the expense of sending Chairman Bill Bradley to Jackson, Miss., to study the voter registration drive there. He was accompanied by Attorney Beverly Axelrod. They are expected to return this weekend.

"We now have less than \$20 in the treasury," one chapter member said. He added that the membership held divergent views on the necessity of the Mississippi trip at this time.

It goes on :

As early as mid-May certain young militants, including Tracy Sims, outlined startling plans by CORE to disrupt the convention. * * *

There followed then this response from some of the older more responsible people in the organization that they were not to conduct themselves in this way, and they felt that Tracy Sims was not justified in speaking for CORE as she did.

We also know Mrs. Axelrod made a trip—well, this is from the *News-Call Bulletin* of July 30, 1965 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 100]. It establishes Beverly Axelrod as a member of the Women for Peace and reports a meeting she attended with women who were members of the National Liberation Front.

The meeting was held in Indonesia, and among other things she said the meeting was with Vietnamese women, six from the north and three from the south and all belong to the National Liberation Front. And more important, "I really believe the only kind of military strength that can win there is genocide," Mrs. Axelrod said. The article further said :

She was told that Americans bombed a clearly marked leprosarium, far from military objectives three or four days running and that churches, temples, schools and villages have been bombed.

She said she thought the Viet women expressed the truth as they believed it.

Mr. SMITH. I expect Mrs. Axelrod was referring to the Vietnam geographic area in those statements?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, in support of the Viet Cong.

Beverly Axelrod is mentioned in a program issued by the Congress of Unrepresented People which lists a number of speakers who will participate in discussion groups [Montgomery Exhibit No. 101].

This was a revised program of discussion groups, in which Frank Wilkinson was a principal speaker, speaking on "Effects of the War Machine on American Society" and then under the heading of "American Democracy—Promise and Reality," Beverly Axelrod of San Francisco Women for Peace speaking on "Race Exploitation: Mississippi, Oakland, Vietnam." I also notice that police brutality was a subject to be discussed by representatives from the Oakland Direct Action Committee.

This was distributed November 9, 1965, and given rather wide distribution.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 96 through 101," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the Oakland Direct Action Committee will be a subject of testimony further in these hearings.

Also, Mr. Chairman, the *People's World* of December 6, 1955, reflects that Beverly Axelrod was a member of the executive board, San Francisco chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. The committee staff investigation discloses that Beverly Diana Axelrod, nee Jerrod, was born March 3, 1924, in New York City. She has been known by various names by marriage.

She was first married June 9, 1944, to Seymour Silverstein, whose name was changed by court order on October 23, 1944, in New York City to Lourd. She was divorced in Montgomery County, Alabama, on April 30, 1951. She then married Marshall Axelrod on December 24, 1951.

Did you write an article concerning that meeting at the Hall of Flowers sponsored by the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee on July 22, 1967?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I did, and it appeared in the *San Francisco Examiner* on July 31, 1967 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 102].

Mr. SMITH. Did you have a byline on the article?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I did.

Mr. SMITH. Will you please read the article into the record.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This describes a drive for funds to buy guns for Bay area Negroes to afford them "a fighting chance" against police and National Guardsmen in the course of the "long hot summer, and beyond" that currently is underway:

The project was launched without fanfare at a recent meeting of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee in the Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park. Chairman of the meeting was Don Rothenberg, long active in Communist Party affairs in Cleveland and Washington, D.C. A relative newcomer to this [the Bay] area, Rothenberg until recently was an assistant to Edward Keating, deposed publisher of Ramparts magazine.

I go on to tell of a plea for money made by Robert A. Avakian, the son of a superior court judge of Alameda County, on which he set out to raise funds, launched a campaign which has continued and which, so far as I know, may still be continuing to provide guns for the black community of the San Francisco Bay area. Now they apparently have gotten money somewhere because they have been buying guns. They have been buying weapons in big numbers. We were able to trace some of the purchases to a gun store in Reno, Nevada, where they bought guns as many as 25 at a time.

I know of one purchase on February 15 of this year, where they purchased 26 guns, for the most part 38's and nine-millimeter Aftra automatics. The bill came to \$954, and the purchaser peeled off nine \$100 bills and lesser bills.

So they are getting money in sizable amounts from some source. These purchases by the black militants are being made by individuals who have no visible means of support for the most part and are not the type of people who have that kind of money to play with.

Mr. SMITH. In this article you mention a plea for guns voiced by Bob Avakian, which you have just been discussing. Do you have any further information or documentation on the subject?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I know this, in his own proposal, Avakian, at the time of the rally in the Hall of Flowers, put out a circular which was also distributed outside the meeting, following the meeting. It is termed "The Long Hot Summer and Beyond: a radical proposal," "Gun Running," in which he spells out the need [Montgomery Exhibit No. 103].

It reads in part—

we must either come to the aid of the black revolution, or, through inaction, or misguided action, inadvertently aid the power structure.

He is calling for support of the black people in their revolution and he spells it out, why the guns are wanted and what will be done with this money and the acquisition of guns. At the same time they came with their Student Organizing Committee, of which Robert Avakian was the coorganizer, to organize the poor whites along a line agreeing with Stokely Carmichael's analysis, and bringing the poor whites and the blacks together.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have an address for the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, the address at the period of time I am testifying about was 2602 Post Street, San Francisco. I have a letter which was received August 8, 1967, signed by Susan Supriano, the coordinator. Susan Supriano is the wife of Harold Supriano, whom we discussed earlier.

This is the letter, the stamped return envelope with the Post Street address, and the letter calling attention to a meeting to show support of the Negro community, and calling for contributions to pay for a newspaper advertisement [Montgomery Exhibit No. 104].

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 102 through 104," respectively. Exhibit No. 104 retained in committee files. Exhibits Nos. 102 and 103 follow:)

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT NO. 102

Plea by Alameda Judge's Son

Guns-for-Negroes Drive in Bay Area

By ED MONTGOMERY
Staff Writer

A drive for funds to buy guns for Bay area Negroes to afford them "a fighting chance" against police and National Guardsmen in the course of a "long hot summer and beyond," is currently underway.

The project was launched without fanfare at a recent meeting of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee in the Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park.

Chairman of the meeting was Don Rothenberg, long active in Communist Party affairs in Cleveland and Washington, D.C. A relative newcomer to this area, Rothenberg until recently was an assistant to Edward Keating, deposed publisher of Ramparts magazine.

RED PARTY PLAN

Rothenberg was one of more than a score of identi-

fied Communists attending the meeting called to discuss civil rights, Black Power, police brutality, increased public welfare and anti-riot legislation.

The plea for guns was voiced by Bob Avakian, son of Alameda County Superior Court Judge Spurgeon Avakian and a recent candidate for the Berkeley City Council.

"If the Negroes want guns to protect themselves from the police we should help them by giving them guns," said Avakian, who refers to police as "gestapo pigs."

INCITE VIOLENCE

He distributed leaflets prepared by the Student Organizing Committee which read in part:

"... we have the responsibility — at least until we have the power to deal with the causes of the rebellions — to make it possible for

black people to have a fighting chance of defending themselves.

"Among other things, this means that we could help raise funds and supply weapons for groups like the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, which is arming and organizing black people for self defense."

The current Black Panther publication identifies Avakian as research editor for Ramparts and carries a by-lined story in which he refers to President Johnson as "the world's top-dog oppressor and murderer."

With reference to a recent Democratic Party fund raising event attended by President Johnson, he refers to the guests as "the pigs of the power structure who paid \$500 a piece to be in the same room with the arch-enemy of the world's people."

Mark Comfort, East Bay

activist, also spoke at the Hall of Flowers meeting and advocated police be denied the right to carry guns.

REVOLUTION GOAL

"We are in the beginning of a revolution and within five years we will be in a full-scale revolution," Comfort declared.

Also distributed at the meeting were leaflets published by the Communist Party, 942 Market Street.

Howard Harowitz, another East Bay activist, urged that police be prohibited from making arrests for disturbances or stealing. These offenses he said, should be handled through the issuance of citations.

Among the identified Communists at the meeting were Albert "Mickey" Lima, northern California chairman of the Communist Party; Roscoe Proctor, a Lima aide;

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Mrs. Virginia Proctor; Al Richmond, publisher of the Communist People's World; James Fenton Wood, folksinger, and Hershell Alexander of Los Angeles, whose daughter, Roberta, recently was expelled from Spain for anti-U.S.-Vietnam activity.

The Long Hot Summer and Beyond: a radical proposal

The recent rebellions throughout the ghettos of this country and the response by the power structure - tanks and machine guns in Newark; passage of the so-called "anti-riot" bill; gunning down innocent women and children in their homes - make it clear that we are already involved in a growing civil war. But right now the war is one-sided: unorganized black people, armed with only a few unsophisticated weapons are being slaughtered by police and national guardsmen with their well-oiled apparatus of destruction.

This does not mean that black people will stop rebelling; in fact, the increasing number and intensity of the recent rebellions leaves no doubt that black people will continue to revolt until the oppressive conditions of the ghetto - unemployment, poverty, poor health facilities, substandard housing, discriminatory education and police brutality - are eliminated. And those white people who claim to be opponents of oppression and enemies of the power structure - are now squarely on the spot: we must either come to the aid of the black revolution, or, through inaction, or misguided action, inadvertently aid the power structure.

Gun Running

We do not yet have the political power to deal with the crises of racism and poverty in this society; we cannot now even effect a change in the brutal policy of the power structure in reacting to ghetto rebellions. And it would not be practical for us, at this time, to try to join with black people in their efforts to defend themselves against the assaults of police and national guardsmen. But we do have the responsibility - at least until we have the power to deal with the causes of the rebellions - to make it possible for black people to have a fighting chance of defending themselves. Among other things, this means that we should help raise funds and supply weapons for groups like the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, which is arming and organizing black people for self-defense. This will not be easy - it may in fact place us in legal jeopardy - but if we are not willing to do this, then we will find ourselves in the same position as the London hippies who asked Stokely Carmichael how they could help the black liberation struggle. "Well, I'll tell you what," Carmichael told them, "when the police come into the ghettos to shoot us down in the streets, you can help us fight the police by throwing flowers at them."

Organizing Poor Whites

But in order to give full support to black people in their struggle to end oppression - in order even to prevent genocide against black people in this country - we white radicals must not only run guns to the black revolutionaries, we must also move within the white community to build a force for full equality. The fight against racism can only be successful if it is part of a program designed to deal with the problems of the white community. Some of us are convinced that it is time to begin organizing among poor whites in this area. We believe that poor whites are the critical group that must be moved at this time. We agree with Stokely Carmichael's analysis:

There is a vital job to be done among poor whites. We hope to see, eventually, a coalition between poor blacks and poor whites. That is the only coalition that is acceptable to us, and we see such a coalition as the major internal instrument of change in American society. Poor whites are becoming more hostile - not less - partly because they see the nation's attention focused on black poverty and nobody coming to them."

If those of us who are concerned about poverty and racism fail to mobilize and organize the poor white community, the result may well be a race war - a blood bath in which poor white and black people will kill each other off, instead of forming an alliance to fight the power structure. There is no more time for do-goodism or friendly chats with public relations men and servants of the power structure. We must begin now to build a real power base capable of uprooting racism and poverty in this country. We urge all those opposed to these evils to join with us in supporting and implementing the above proposals.

STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Ken Olitt 1809 10th St., Berkeley, 843-6889

Bob Avakian 1211 Evelyn Ave., Berkeley, 527-5011

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. At the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee meeting held at the Hall of Flowers July 22, 1967, did you notice any known members of the Communist Party in attendance or members of the W. E. B. DuBois Club?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I did.

There were present such individuals as Howard Harawitz, who once served as president of the W. E. B. DuBois Club at the University of California in Berkeley; Roscoe Proctor, who is an official of the Communist Party, Northern District of California; his wife, Virginia Proctor; Al Richmond, editor of the *People's World*; Archie Brown, of Local 6, ILWU, and a leader of the May 13, 1960, City Hall demonstration against this committee; George Sandy, a longtime Communist member; James Fenton Wood, member of the Communist Party in San Francisco, guitar-playing folksinger; Albert "Mickey" Lima, the chairman of the Communist Party, Northern District of Cali-

fornia; Terence Hallinan of the W. E. B. DuBois Club and later identified as a Communist Party member; and Hursel Alexander, a member of the district committee of the Communist Party from Los Angeles, California.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, at this point I would like to put into the record that staff investigation has disclosed Susan Supriano as the wife of Harold Supriano. She was born Susan Jean Eichler on July 31, 1938, in Evanston, Illinois. She was arrested on November 3, 1963, in San Francisco for her participation in a civil rights demonstration under the name of Susan Jean Valberg. Do you have anything additional to add to this?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have other names in another call for money for ads signed by Susan Supriano—Brownlee Shirek, Berkeley; George Sandy, Oakland; Susan Supriano in San Francisco; and Skip Henderson in Contra Costa County. [This document introduced as Montgomery Exhibit No. 153 on pages 2189 and 2190.]

Mr. ICHORD. I believe this would be a good point at which to adjourn for the day, Mr. Counsel.

Thank you very much, Mr. Montgomery. The committee will be in adjournment until 10 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:50 p.m., Thursday, June 27, 1968, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Friday, June 28, 1968.)

SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IN RIOTS, LOOTING, AND BURNING

Part 6

(San Francisco—Berkeley)

FRIDAY, JUNE 28, 1968

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in Room 311, Cannon House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and Richard L. Roudebush, of Indiana.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis and Roudebush.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Chester D. Smith, general counsel; and William A. Wheeler, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of the fact that other members of the subcommittee appointed to conduct these hearings cannot be present today, the Chair wishes to announce that he has designated a new subcommittee consisting of himself, Mr. Tuck, and Mr. Roudebush to conduct these hearings.

Mr. Roudebush, will you preside?

* * * * *

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Now, Mr. Edward Montgomery will be recalled at this time.

Mr. Montgomery is resuming testimony which he began yesterday. I think it is worthy that I tell those present that Mr. Montgomery is a reporter with the *San Francisco (California) Examiner*. He will continue his testimony concerning Communist and black nationalist activity in the San Francisco area before the riot of September 1966 and subsequent thereto.

¹The testimony of James C. Harris, who was the first witness to appear before the subcommittee on this date, is printed in pt. 3-A of these hearings. This was a continuation of his Nov. 28, 1967, testimony concerning the Los Angeles riot.

Mr. Montgomery, you were sworn in yesterday, and at this time we will assume that you continue to give testimony under oath. Are you willing to do so, sir?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Right, I am.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Counsel, will you continue with your interrogation?

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD S. MONTGOMERY—Resumed

Mr. SMITH. Will you continue your testimony?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The additional information I have, Mr. Counsel, has to do with the situation that has existed, occurrences of violence other than rioting that have occurred in the San Francisco Bay area since the principal riot of September 1966.

We have a situation wherein a police substation at Hunter's Point was fired upon on the night of November 13, 1967, and the principal subject of that shooting, one of the policemen, subsequently died on December 16 of 1967.

The perpetrators of this shooting have never been apprehended. But the bullets are determined to be from a U.S. .30-millimeter carbine. These men were ambushed from outside the police station. They were visible through the window working at desks at the substation.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I think you mean a .30-caliber carbine.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It is an M-1 carbine. It happened at 11:20 at night at the [housing] project station on Hunter's Point adjacent to the naval shipyard. They do know that the three assailants were all young Negroes and the investigators had two main theories—one that the youths were cop-haters venting their resentment against Hunter's Point officers and/or that they bore a personal grudge against one or more of the officers shot or wounded on that occasion.

There had been, prior to this, frequent propaganda publicized in the area calling for attacks on police, who had been called racist pigs and Fascist pigs, rather than police officers. Often they were depicted in cartoons in the form of pigs rather than policemen. I am submitting, if I may, the exhibit of a newspaper account of that particular offense.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 105" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. A subsequent article, December 16, saying that the shooting at Hunter's Point had now become a case of murder because the one principal victim had died reads:

This was the report by Homicide Inspector William Armstrong, who with Inspector Ken Manley has been working on the case ever since three unknown assailants fired 20 shots into the Hunters Point Project police office more than a month ago.

This case is still unsolved.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 106" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. We also have a statement that came from Harry Edwards referring to—well, this, I think, will come at a later point when we get into another subject. But he did at that time comment on the shooting and the sniping in San Francisco.

Harry Edwards is a part-time assistant professor at San Jose State College. He is described as a young sociologist, civil rights activist, and he said, according to a [*San Francisco Chronicle*] news account of November 16, 1967, that “the Hunters Point housing project police office was a warning of guerrilla warfare—which he says is rapidly approaching.”

Associate Professor Harry Edwards said that, speaking both as a social scientist and as an involved militant leader, and he identified himself as such, before the social catastrophe of northern California, a bloody and violent revolution was in the offing.

He said that the dissident Negroes and young militant Negroes and dissident white allies are thinking in terms of meeting violence with violence. He added:

“When strategy doesn’t work, you have to move on to something else that does work. It doesn’t make sense to go on being non-violent when everyone else is being violent.”

The article also said:

The Monday night sniper attack at Hunters Point left Patrolman Herman George critically wounded with six bullet wounds and a special officer, Sergeant Wayne Summerlin, wounded with a bullet in one arm.

“This is the kind of thing that is clearly developing here,” Edwards said. He said that future anti-war protests and racial demonstrations will carry with them danger of bloodshed because “Violence is going to be answered with violence.”

repeating some of his previous statements.

(Document marked “Montgomery Exhibit No. 107” appears on page 2146.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Now in that regard, I might observe, Mr. Chairman, that as recent as a week ago Tuesday night there was a similar incident in San Francisco at another police station at the precise time when the police were having a shoot-out with two armed Negro bandits, a shoot-out in which one police officer was killed even before he had a chance to draw his gun.

The second officer was wounded.

At that precise moment at the nearest police station, the Taravol district police station, just south of Golden Gate Park, there were fired into that substation from a park across the street a number of shots, again from an M-1 carbine. Fortunately, no one was struck.

One policeman had his hat knocked off by a bullet. The communications system was shot out, radio transmissions and whatnot. A series of—I don’t recall the exact number of shots—but it was an attack identical to that which had taken place at the Hunter’s Point police substation. As I say, this, what I am referring to now, happened only 10 days ago.

Then we also have remarks from an article appearing in the San Francisco press on April 15, 1968. It refers to a blast at Stokely Carmichael by a Negro leader. It carries a Washington dateline. It is an Associated Press story, saying:

Negro leader Whitney M. Young Jr. said yesterday the masses of Negroes viewing the riot damage in America’s cities feel “they need a Stokely Carmichael like they need a hole in the head.”

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 107
[San Francisco Chronicle]

Professor-Activist

Thurs., Nov. 16, 1967 3

Blunt Warning to Cops-- 'Guerrilla Warfare Near'

By Ralph Craib

A young sociologist and civil rights activist said yesterday that the sniper attack on the Hunters Point housing project police office was a warning of guerrilla warfare — which he says is rapidly approaching.

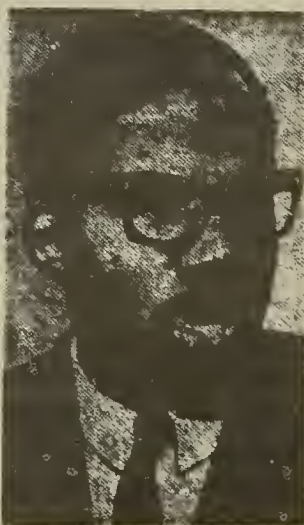
Associate Professor Harry Edwards of San Jose State College — speaking both as social scientist and as an involved militant leader — called for an emergency conference to head off open warfare on the streets.

In a letter mailed to all Northern California police departments, Edwards said that "rational men" must confer and agree on procedures to avert "social catastrophe in Northern California . . . violent and bloody revolution."

That war is coming, he said, because young Negroes and dissident white allies are thinking in terms of "meeting violence with violence."

Edwards, 24, a Cornell University doctoral candidate who did his thesis for his master's degree there on phases of the Black Muslim movement, attributed the new militancy of young Negroes to several factors.

There was, he said, a feeling that protests should be "escalated" if goals are not attained by peaceful means. And, he said, "The young, the new generation of blacks, has observed the behavior of the older generation and has seen that non-violence was used as a theology and not as a strategy. The new generation, and I include myself, sees that you cannot make a theology out of what is supposed to be a strategy.



HARRY EDWARDS
 Call for conference

"When strategy doesn't work, you have to move on to something else that does work. It doesn't make sense to go on being non-violent when everyone else is being violent."

Recent incidents of violence, he said, have resulted in deep anger among militants. These incidents included, he said, the police use of chemical irritants and free-swinging billy clubs at the Oakland, Armed Forces Examining Station, treatment received by Huey P. Newton "at the hands of the Oakland Police Department," and police handling of protestors at other demonstrations throughout Northern California. Newton, a Black Panther leader, was wounded seriously in a fight in which he is accused of killing one Oakland policeman and wounding another.

The Monday night sniper attack at Hunters Point left Patrolman Herman George critically wounded with six bullet wounds and a special

officer, Sergeant Wayne Summerlin, wounded with a bullet in one arm.

"This is the kind of thing that is clearly developing here," Edwards said. He said that future anti-war protests and racial demonstrations will carry with them danger of bloodshed because "Violence is going to be answered with violence."

He urged an emergency conference at which leaders of minority and dissident militant groups meet face to face with police from communities throughout Northern California to re-establish "lines of communication" before open war erupts.

In his letter to police departments, he said:

"In place of lines of communication, battle lines are being drawn. A condition of open warfare between the police and the black communities and certain white allies is developing.

"Let there be no mistake, gentlemen. We are no longer talking about bricks and bottles. We are talking about a state of total, hostile and aggressive guerrilla warfare carried out on streets and highways of our communities and cities. We are talking about the development of a situation in which no one will be the victor. There are, nonetheless, those of us who are willing to pay the price."

He translated this in an interview yesterday. If minority groups want to retaliate for any action of police, he said, "They're out in the open in marked cars, perfect targets, and they will be picked off.

"People are talking today in terms of high-powered rifles and hand grenades. The police can't win — they are out in the open."

And Young said the Black Power advocate's following is minimal, accusing the news media of building up Carmichael, projecting him and maintaining his image.

"His following right now amounts to about 50 Negroes and about 5000 white reporters—newspaper, television and radio reporters. They have created him. There is no organization; there is no following. They have projected him and this has kept him alive," Young said.

The Urban League official—

He is a member of the Urban League, apparently—

gave his views in a copyrighted interview published by U.S. News & World Report magazine.

Young said when he makes a speech about cooperation between whites and Negroes, he's given four or five inches of newspaper space.

"When Stokely talks about 'killing whitey' his whole speech is reprinted and gets television coverage," Young declared.

I might say that, while I am not in complete concurrence with Mr. Young on how many supporters Mr. Carmichael has, the same would apply to H. Rap Brown, LeRoi Jones, the others. I have noticed on the West Coast that a greater amount of news space is given, a greater amount of coverage does seem to be given to these militant activists than to those who are preaching a different doctrine.

This even extends down to the hippies. It has long been my personal belief that if radio, television, and the news media would pay less attention to these people, that they would not be meeting with the success that they are today.

I am convinced of that and I have seen instances in my area where the funeral of a young black militant who was killed in a shoot-out with police would be given 4-inch pictures, four columns of art, and a column and a half of copy, whereas the funeral of a policeman shot by young militants a few days previously was kissed off on one of the inside pages with perhaps 5 or 6 inches of print at the most.

So there is some merit to what Mr. Young is saying. What Carmichael's actual following is in numbers—it is hard to say—but I do think that we are playing into their hands by giving them the attention and the press that they have been getting.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received into the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. That may be so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 108" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. I believe that was Whitney Young, was it not?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That was Whitney Young, right.

Mr. SMITH. He is an official of the Urban League.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Right.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, do you have knowledge of inflammatory racial activity at San Francisco State College?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I have, sir. There is presently being given at the Experimental College of San Francisco State College a seminar on guerrilla warfare, titled, "Theory and Tactic in Contemporary America."

I have a number of exhibits touching on that matter. The course itself is being taught by Robert Kaffke. I believe the committee is probably aware of who Robert Kaffke is. I have a part of a brochure

put out for the spring of 1968 that is current for the Experimental College at San Francisco State.

A seminar on guerrilla warfare—among other things Robert Kaffke recommends as reading material for a foundation in this course the book *Guerrilla Warfare* by Che Guevara, *The Modoc War* by Murray, *War of the Flea* by Robert Taber, *The Protracted War* by Mao Tse-tung, Lenin's thesis, "Imperialism," *Stalin* by Isaac Deutscher, *Revolution in the Revolution* by Regis Debray, *State and Revolution* by Lenin, *US Army Guerrilla Warfare Manual*, *How to Survive in the Wilderness*, *101 Questions for the Guerrilla* by Col. Bayo, and *Second Declaration of Havana* by Fidel Castro.

These are the prescribed readings for this particular course.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 109" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Do you have additional material on that point?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have some additional material on this.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request that these documents he will submit will be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have an article from the *Daily Gater*. I might say this Experimental College is run and operated by the students themselves and funded by the Associated Students, rather than as a subject on the curriculum of the college proper.

There is an article that appeared in the February 13, 1968, *Daily Gater* [Montgomery Exhibit No. 110], which is the student publication, observing the return to campus of Commandante Roberto Kaffke of the guerrilla forces of Nicaragua—"returned to SF State after an extended stay in Nicaragua where he was subjected to 'sadistic torture' by the local police." It tells of Kaffke's time spent in Nicaragua and finally the fact that he was apprehended there and deported on December 23; "he was escorted to the border under guard and deported. Kaffke arrived in San Francisco in late January." It was immediately after his arrival, return to San Francisco, that this particular course in the Experimental College—the course on guerrilla warfare, was founded. Again reading from the *Daily Gater* for February 23, 1968 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 111], a headline, "Commandante Kafke's [sic] course draws raves."

It is preceded with an editor's note:

The following is a *Gater* first: a review of an Experimental College Course. The first subject for this new treatment is a course on guerrilla warfare by Major Roberto Kaffke.

It starts, "Revolutionary figure Roberto Kaffke opened up his first session on guerrilla warfare Thursday night in a jammed lecture hall to an expectant crowd of more than 125." They outlined what the course was going to include, upcoming: "The Ghetto Uprisings," "Intelligence Operations," "The Sandino Campaign," "Urban Warfare," "Weaponry and Demolitions," "Counter-Insurgency Tactics," and "Perspectives of Revolution in the Americas."

These were the topics to be included over a period of weeks in the teaching of this course in guerrilla warfare.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned that he was a major. Do you know what army he is a major in?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I don't know, unless this is some honorary title that was given him by Che Guevara. I don't know whether Che bestowed a title on him or not. I don't know of him being commissioned a major in any United States military force.

Incidentally, at one of his lectures the House Un-American Activities film on the May 13, 1960, city hall riots, "Operation Abolition," was shown, and Kaffke announced that he plans to obtain more films. Presently he has an outstanding list of specialists who have been invited to address the Thursday night sessions, according to this article.

Mr. SMITH. I request these documents be received into the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 110 and 111," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Kaffke is also a rather prolific writer of letters to the editors of various papers and particularly the *Golden Gater*. He has one appearing in the March 21, 1968, edition, in which he makes an attack on what we regard generally as the left.

He said, "The 'Left' in America, is held in contempt by the majority of liberation struggles in the remainder of the world." He goes on to criticize the left as nothing but a series of "'club-houses,' relying on a now ancient and dead concept of revolution," and that they "are not revolutionaries at all."

He concludes by saying:

Perhaps better to die in the struggle than of old age and cancer in a bed that does not belong to one.

Thus I say: To Hell with the Left; get out of our way or we will run you over.

This is signed "Roberto Kaffke."

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received in the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 112" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Also there appeared in the *Daily Gater* on Thursday, April 18, 1968, an account of an attack on this particular class. There is a radio commentator in the area by the name of Pat Michaels who, in a night program, had been highly critical of the guerrilla warfare course. According to the *Gater*:

Michaels argues that the seminar, which has an average weekly attendance of 125, according to EC staff member Russell Bass, should not be allowed on a state-supported campus. His voice joins the chorus of anti-EC remarks, in which state senator John Harmer of Orange County, has been loudest.

This course has met with some public criticism. But it nevertheless continues.

Mr. SMITH. I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 113" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have another article appearing in the *Berkeley Barb* for March 15-21, 1968, headlined, "Guerilla Training at SF State." The article starts out:

"Everyman's castle should have a shotgun," Roberto Kaffke told his class last Thursday. "The Revolution is coming very fast to Latin America and in another sense to the United States; if you don't believe that, I don't know what you're doing here."

It tells of Kaffke's guerrilla warfare seminars, and it says:

The course presents the students with a variety of radical speakers and literature, and provides them with practical preparation for urban warfare.

* * * * *

Last week Dr. William Mandel spoke and played tapes of his appearance before the McCarthy witch-hunt of 1953 and the HUAC hearings of 1960. Tapes of Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael's speeches at the Oakland Auditorium will be heard this week.

I might say I have heard the tapes of those speeches and they are the most inflammatory racist public utterances that I have heard in a long while.

This is the type of material that is being presented at the guerrilla warfare classes.

Mr. SMITH. I request this document be received in the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 114" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. We have another article appearing in the *San Francisco Examiner* on April 21: "Guerrilla Warfare Course at S.F. State Investigated."

It states that the course is now under investigation by the attorney general. It told of a panel of "combat veterans." First they played Carmichael's speech, with the remark, "This is where Carmichael sets a new direction for the Black Power movement—calling on blacks to organize themselves, become nationalistic, almost racist."

The article reads:

"If it is a classroom discussion on guerrilla warfare," says Charles O'Brien, chief deputy attorney general here, "that is one thing; if it is an exercise in guerrilla warfare, if they are training guerrillas, that is quite another thing."

That investigation is current. It is now going on. Accompanying the article is a picture of Kaffke himself and some of the remarks he has made over the years.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 115" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. With regard to Kaffke himself, we have an article from the *San Francisco Examiner*, a byline story by William O'Brien, dated July 1, 1963. This is the fruit of a long-distance exclusive telephone conversation with Kaffke at a time when he was in Havana, Cuba.

Reading briefly from the article:

A plane load of junketing U.S. students, including 20 from the Bay area, landed in Cuba yesterday in defiance of a State Department ban on travel to the Red republic.

Robert Kaffke, 35 year old San Francisco State College art student, told The Examiner by telephone that the welcome by Cuban students was warm and that he, and other members of the student tour, have little fear of U.S. threats of jail for persons breaching the Cuban quarantine.

"It's better to be in jail if it means eventual freedom," said Kaffke of the Justice Department's announced intention of imposing five year jail terms and \$5,000 fines on the students.

He added that he does not think the State Department will seek harsh punishment for the students.

Further in the article:

Kaffke confirmed that the students quietly left the United States in small groups, and had met in Paris for a further flight behind the Iron Curtain to Prague, Czechoslovakia.

The westward trip to Havana, he said, was made in a Cuban jet plane that arrived in Havana at 7:30 a.m.

The tab for the entire trip, he said, is being picked up by the Cuban Student Federation. The federation also will underwrite the cost of the group's month stay at the posh Havana Riviera Hotel, he added.

There is more to the interview, but those are the pertinent facts.

Mr. SMITH. I request the document be received for the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 116" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. We also have further reference to Kaffke in an article appearing in the San Francisco State *Golden Gater* on July 3, 1963, in which he refers to 59 American college students, among them 25 from the Bay area and 6 from San Francisco State College—the fact that they are in Cuba at that time in defiance of the United States State Department's ban on travel to that country.

Farther down in the article, "The Justice Department will probably wait until the US Court of Appeals rules on the William Worthy case," is the explanation given by one of the supporters, Mr. Ernest Besig, of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received in the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 117" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. On Friday, September 20, 1963, the *Golden Gater*, San Francisco State College, came with a three-column headline story, "Kaffke served grand jury subpoena for visit to Cuba."

It identifies Kaffke as having gone to Cuba and having returned to the San Francisco campus with a subpoena from the grand jury of New York. "I'll go where I want to go, regardless of passports. I want to see what's happening for myself," was his remark as to why he had gone to Cuba.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received in the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 118" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, would you identify the *Golden Gater*?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, the *Golden Gater* is a publication supported entirely by student body funds at San Francisco State College. It is a daily paper. It was originally the *Golden Gater* and it is now the *Daily Gater*. They have abbreviated the name.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Also there have been protests of the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. I have a flyer for a rally on the speakers' platform on the campus there at 12:30 on Thursday, April 30, 1964. This was sponsored by the San Francisco State W. E. B. DuBois Club, a particular chapter on that State campus.

It featured speakers Robert Scheer, Art Sheridan, Don Jons, J. P. Freed, and Robert Kaffke.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request this document be received in the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 119" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have one more letter to the editor, again in the *Golden Gater*—this one, Friday, July 10, 1964—an attack on the Vietnam situation by Kaffke, in which he said, "For nine years our government has been lying (sic) to us. We have violated every section of the 1954 Geneva agreement."

He concludes with, "The U.S. cannot in any way justify extending this ugly and contemptible crime against humanity."

Mr. SMITH. I request the document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 120" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Kaffke's name crops up again in a publication called *Challenge*, put out by the Progressive Labor Movement. On April 13, 1965, there was in *Challenge* a two-column headline story, "New Bronx Workers Group," and announced the forming of The Community Workers, a new group, as a branch of the Progressive Labor Movement.

It outlines its purpose—organizing the Spanish Americans and the Puerto Ricans and the Negroes, and for further information, contact Robert Kaffke. A phone number is given. It intimates that Robert Kaffke at that time, as of April 1965, was active within the Progressive Labor Movement and this Community Workers program.

Mr. SMITH. I request the document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 121" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Another article coming out of the *Challenge* for April 13, 1965, identifying *Challenge* as a weekly organ of the Progressive Labor Movement. It sets forth some of its objectives, one of which is, "Fight those who hide behind police uniforms to terrorize and murder working people while the big crooks go scot free."

Mr. SMITH. I request this document be received for the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 122" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. This article in the *Daily Gater*, September 28, 1966, titled "'Honorary' guerrilla, drifter teaching for Other College"—referring to Kaffke—mentions an article in the *Gater* [of July 10, 1963] written by Jerry Werthimer, who is an associate professor

of journalism, identifying Kaffke as something of a drifter who had been in and out of college for 10 years, taking various courses and changing his majors, shifting from one major to another, and dropping out from time to time to take a variety of jobs or to fight for some particular cause or demonstration.

It describes his illegal trip to Guatemala and how he entered illegally by swimming the Motagua River. It said, "Kaffke is also the Latin American correspondent for Ramparts magazine," which is published in San Francisco, and it said, "His latest assignment is to research Lee Harvey Oswald's activities in Mexico in the summer of '63, when Kaffke was also in Mexio [sic]." That concludes my reference, sir, to Mr. Kaffke.

Mr. SMITH. I request this document be received in the record.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 123" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Does Kaffke have an arrest record?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, he has. He has a rather extensive arrest record. I will submit it if you are interested. It varies from auto theft on through arrest for disturbing the peace and as a demonstrator.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the record be received.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 124" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. I might ask for a clarification. Where does this arrest record come from? Where did you obtain it?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The arrest records?

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Yes.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It is a matter of common knowledge in San Francisco; most of it came indirectly from the SFPD, the San Francisco Police Department.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, the committee staff investigation has determined that Robert Kaffke was born September 27, 1927, in San Francisco, California. Information from the Passport Division of the State Department indicates a passport was issued on November 19, 1962, by the San Francisco Passport Office for travel to Mexico and Nicaragua.

The subject records his occupation as a professor. The file reflects two trips abroad during the previous 12 months and no indication as to where or when. The address of the subject is given as 1054 Randolph Street, San Francisco, California.

Information also reflects that subject's parents are Theodore Kaffke—born in 1890 in Germany, is a U.S. citizen—and Esmeralda Rubi—born 1899 in Nicaragua, is a U.S. citizen. The address of these two individuals is the same as subject's. Kaffke married Margaret Crawford in 1952, divorced her in 1954. The subject then married Helen Hoag in 1956 and divorced her in 1959.

The passport file further reflects application for passport registration in Paris, France, on November 2, 1965, under registration date of 11-3-65, which expired 11-10-65. Application reflects subject departed Luxembourg on 11-3-65, traveled to United States via Icelandic Airlines.

Final action in the file is passport renewal application dated November 21, 1966, the renewal effective 12-23-66. No travel plans recorded other than the indication of possible travel during the year 1967.

Kaffke enlisted U.S. Army on April 3, 1943, at the age of 15 under the name of Lloyd W. Pease and was assigned to Ft. Lewis, Washington. He was separated from the service on June 18, 1943, as a minor after about 2½ months' service.

He was given an honorable discharge. He reenlisted November 27, 1945, as Robert L. Kaffke at San Francisco, California. He was separated August 16, 1946, at Letterman General Hospital, San Francisco, California, under provisions of AR-615-368 as a result of board action in the Army. Subject given an undesirable discharge.

The board found the following: emotional instability, immature reaction with antisocial behavior, chronic, severe. It reflects subject did not receive any basic training nor was he assigned to any military occupational specialty number. He has had no overseas service. Subject is shown to have gone AWOL on April 6, 1946. He petitioned for review of his undesirable discharge on October 5, 1959.

Air Force Discharge Review Board ruled on February 3, 1960, to change the certificate of discharge to honorable with the provision that he is ineligible for future enlistment. Kaffke was so notified and given an honorable discharge on February 16, 1960.

The passport application to which I referred a few minutes ago reflects that subject refused to take the oath of allegiance inasmuch as it is stricken out above the subject's signature on the passport application.

Mr. Montgomery, do you have any additional information of interest concerning Kaffke?

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Before we leave that, I am interested in knowing, Mr. Montgomery described this man as a professional student or drifter. I think you indicated he was a professor. Has he graduated from any university, or how did he obtain the title professor?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. He is not a professor in the sense that he has taken courses in education or received a degree in education. Mr. Chairman, because this is an experimental college, rather than a college within the academic structure there, they can call in anyone and he automatically gets the title of a professor in this experimental college.

He has no teaching credentials. Others who participate there, for instance Terence Hallinan is one of the sponsors of this particular course in experimental college. Terence Hallinan has a degree in law, but he has no teaching credentials and yet he will participate, as do other leftists. On occasions people known to us to be members of the Communist conspiracy are participants in these discussions.

I might say that we had occasion recently at the Press Club of San Francisco, which has regular events known as the Friday Gang Dinner, wherein speakers, at the conclusion of their remarks, are obligated to respond to questions from the floor.

We had as a recent speaker Dr. John Summerskill, who was president of San Francisco State College. At the time he spoke at the Press Club he already had announced his resignation as president of the college, to be effective in July. Actually his whole administration had

come under disrepute. He was subject to severe criticism within the State board of trustees, who have jurisdiction over the State colleges.

In the light of what had transpired on the campus, demonstrations in which, incidentally, Kaffke participated at times—it was felt that for the best interests of all that Dr. Summerskill be relieved as president. So he was told in a nice way, “Well, you announce your resignation effective at the end of the school year and that will give you time to find another position.”

Then shortly after the first of the year, after Summerskill had announced his intention to resign but was still acting as president, he spoke at the Press Club. On that occasion he was asked with direct reference to the guerrilla warfare course whether he thought that this was a—well, he was asked to comment on the propriety of such a course where State facilities were being used at the expense of the taxpayers.

He replied and reminded those present that actually this was the Experimental College and not a course in the regular curriculum of the college itself. He said he could not find anything wrong with the course. He was not opposed to it. He said after all, “There had been no shots fired on campus.” He then was asked, “Then, Dr. Summerskill, by the same precept, do you feel it would be all right if they taught a course in rape on the campus so long as no coeds were raped?”

Well, Summerskill laughed it off without a response and that was it. Then a few weeks later there was another demonstration in which militant students were protesting the ROTC on campus and the dismissal of one of the activist professors and what not, and the matter got out of hand to the point where police were called in and Summerskill was dismissed forthwith as president.

(At this point Mr. Willis entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Then I would say the title professor means very little. It is more of an honorary title in this experimental school, and no formal education is required to be a professor at this experimental college?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That is correct.

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. In view of the fact that we now find that Kaffke is not a professor per se, I wonder what he does for a living. Does he have any gainful occupation?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have never put that question to him. I have put that question to one of his colleagues, Professor John Gerassi. Gerassi travels around the Bay area considerably, and he said, “Well, I will get a friend to drive me here and drive me there, and someone will invite me to dinner,” professing to be stonebroke, but they always seem to have money. Where it comes from, I don’t know. They are not gainfully employed to my knowledge.

Mr. SMITH. Do you know where Kaffke is now?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. No, I don’t. I know that on March 17 his seminar was well attended, and he ran films on Che Guevara. He had a report from Robert Williams in Peking. He had a report from Mao Tse-tung, and he also gave quite a lecture on the Russian revolution of 1908, the one that started and failed, or 1905, whenever it was, and he has said that would be what is happening today in America. The revolution may not prove successful at this time but it will be similar

to what happened in Russia in 1905 and all. So he was still lecturing within the last few weeks.¹

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, has there been any sabotage or threats of sabotage in the Bay area?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, there has been. There has been considerable sabotage in recent weeks. We have had the instance of a huge Pacific Gas and Electric transmission power line in Berkeley Hills, back just beyond the radiation laboratory, blown down with dynamite one night, and it disrupted power service for a large segment of the community.

Most of these acts of sabotage or threats have not been resolved, and the authorities are still trying to find the guilty parties. For this reason, it is not known what the motivation is because the authorities themselves have not solved the crimes.

The fact that Robert Kaffke has been engaged in racial agitation, however, and the fact that his course on guerrilla warfare includes instruction on demolitions indicate that there might be a link between the acts of sabotage that have taken place and the militant race agitators who, it is known, are advocating guerrilla warfare. We have had them say that the thing to do was to blow up power stations, blow up police stations, blow up factories. There has even been an intimation that they were going to blow up the Standard Oil plant in Richmond. These acts have been advocated by various spokesmen from within the black militant group, as well as the leftists on the campus from time to time.

There are two incidents in which there is no evidence of racial involvement. On March 27 of this year the San Francisco Police Department received a telephone call saying their radio communications tower would be blown up.²

Investigation disclosed a young man approximately halfway up the tower. This is a 250-foot tower. He had been in San Francisco only 1 day, however, and had previously been committed to a mental institution. He was released when his father came from Minnesota to pick him up.

Then on April 9, 1968, an unemployed construction worker admitted that he had toppled a PG&E tower in the San Mateo area with a bulldozer the week before.³ He stated he had done this to protest the war in Vietnam and admitted that he subsequently attempted to black out San Francisco, but that his effort had failed.

Then on March 25, 1968, a clerk at the Oakland Induction Center received a telephone call saying "a tear gas bomb will go off soon, followed by a big bomb."⁴ This, however, did not materialize and the threat might have come from anti-Vietnam war protesters rather than from race agitators, inasmuch as a concerted campaign of harassing induction centers had been undertaken by radical Vietnam protesters.

¹ It has since been learned that Kaffke, along with William Dobkins, a "student," was arrested on June 19, 1968, by Toronto, Canada, Metropolitan Police and jailed for possessing an unregistered gun. The two pleaded guilty to this charge on June 27 and were subsequently deported to the United States.

² As appears in *San Francisco Chronicle*, " 'Bomb' Scare On Twin Peaks," and *San Francisco Examiner*, "Youth Causes Bomb Scare at Peaks Tower," both of Mar. 28, 1968 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-A].

³ As reported in *San Francisco Examiner* of Apr. 9, 1968, "PGE Saboteur 'Happy' S. F. Effort Failed" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-B].

⁴ As reported in *San Francisco Examiner* of Mar. 26, 1968, "2 Bomb Threats That Fizzled Out" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-C].

In addition to these incidents I would like to point out the unsolved cases. There has been a direct attack against the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. This is the largest utility company in the United States. Its services are utilized from Bakersfield, California, to the Oregon State boundary.

This, in driving distance, would be approximately 600 miles. The first instance happened in July of 1967 when a PG&E electrical complex was toppled near Orinda, California. The pole or complex had been unbolted from the concrete base.

More recently, on March 20, 1968, a tower carrying two 115,000-volt transmission lines was dynamited, cutting off the power at the University of California at Berkeley and the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory.¹ The tower was completely demolished. The blast occurred at 1:40 a.m. Partial power was restored at 8 a.m. However, emergency generators at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory responded immediately. Of course, we know the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory is one of the foremost research laboratories under our atomic research project.

Back on February 4, 1968, a Berkeley PG&E substation was entered and three locked switches tampered with, disrupting power service.

On February 25, 1968, a bomb of a crude type was tossed over the fence of a PG&E station at Berkeley. Only minor damage was caused.

On March 20, 1968, the engineer for the PG&E at the Martinez substation was slugged and knocked unconscious and an attempt was made to tamper with high voltage regulators.

On March 21, 1968, PG&E officials found minor damage to another transmission tower. The dynamite attached to the tower did not function properly and failed to explode.

On March 22, 1968, a telephone call was received by radio station KPFA in Berkeley. The caller stated, "There's a bomb in the Broadway Tunnel * * *. We don't want to hurt anyone. We are a revolutionary movement. Call the authorities. It's set to go off at 8:40." ²

The Broadway Tunnel has been renamed and is now known as the Caldecott Tunnel and connects Alameda and Contra Costa Counties. This bomb threat created one of the biggest traffic jams in the East Bay area history. The highway patrol closed access to the tunnel for a period of several hours. No bomb was found.

On March 22, 1968, at 2:35 a.m., two explosions severed the big aerial cable of the Pacific Telephone Company in Contra Costa County.³ The blast disrupted most of the telephone service in the Oakland and Berkeley area.

On Saturday, March 23, 1968, a threat was received by officials of the Golden Gate Bridge that it was to be bombed.⁴ A search of the bridge proved negative. On the same date a second threat was received by American Airlines. The caller stated that nitroglycerin had

¹ As reported in *San Francisco Chronicle*, "Saboteurs Cut Power to UC"; *San Francisco Examiner*, "Plot Against PGE Hinted in UC Sabotage"; and *Washington Post*, "Electricity To University Cut by Blast," all of Mar. 21, 1968 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-D].

² As reported in *San Francisco Examiner* of Mar. 22, 1968, "Threat Jams E. Bay Bore" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-E].

³ As reported in *San Francisco Examiner* of Mar. 22, 1968, "2 Blasts Rip Out Cables," and "New Blast, Beating in PG&E Raids"; and *San Francisco Chronicle* of Mar. 23, 1968, "Phone Line Blasts—Threat on Tunnel" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-F].

⁴ As reported in *Oakland Tribune* of Mar. 24, 1968, "Gate Bridge Shut By Bomb Scare" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-G].

been set to explode near the airport tower at the San Francisco International Airport. This also proved to be false.

On March 25, 1968, a telephone call was made to the *San Francisco Examiner* advising that a bomb in the Twin Peaks Tunnel was set to go off at 6 p.m.¹ This call was made at 5:40. Again all street cars—this is a street car tunnel—and traffic was stalled on Market Street on either side of the tunnel for quite some length of time while a complete search of this tunnel, which is a mile and a half or two miles long, was conducted.

Now there have been three additional electric towers sabotaged in Oakland Hills.²

I have clippings and newspaper accounts of the various events that I have related, particularly the one affecting the radiation lab, a picture of a tower that has been blasted. Three more of these have gone down since I made my initial research, just within the last 2 weeks.

Three towers were dynamited simultaneously and the work is that of a professional. In the last instance, plastic was used rather than dynamite, and the plastic explosive had been so placed on three of the four legs of each of the three towers, and they were all one alongside the other—three huge lines running along parallel—that it was beyond a doubt the work of an experienced saboteur. That is the opinion of the officials who still have the case under investigation.

You might note, too, this is always done on a foggy night. We have fog from time to time in the Bay area, and invariably it is done at night—some time around midnight or in the middle of the night, and on a foggy night so that the person might come and go with less possibility of being observed.

So far as I know, there are no suspects, no known suspects under consideration with respect to these bombings. I have exhibits touching on each of these matters that I have referred to that I would like to leave with the committee, and also an observation on one matter here—that the PG&E saboteur is happy his effort failed.

It is an account in the *San Francisco Examiner* wherein he says that he is happy that he failed. He tried to shut off the power for the entire city of San Francisco, but was unable to do so, and he was judged something of a mental case.

Mr. SMITH. I request these documents be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 125-A through 125-I," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, in your testimony you mentioned and have been describing the guerrilla attacks on the Hunter's Point police substation. One police officer subsequently died of his wounds. You further testified to the effect that a letter was written to various police stations in northern California by Associate Professor Harry Edwards of San Jose State College. In the letter Edwards warned guerrilla warfare was near. Can you tell the committee more about Harry Edwards?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I can, sir. He is originally from St. Louis, a graduate of San Jose State College. His education in San Jose State

¹ As reported in *San Francisco Chronicle* of Mar. 26, 1968, "Bomb Scare Ties Up S. F. Tunnel" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-H].

² As reported in *Santa Ana Register* of June 3, 1968, "Saboteurs Blow Up 3 Electrical Towers—Oakland Area Blacked Out" [Montgomery Exhibit No. 125-I].

College was obtained by a basketball scholarship. He was an outstanding athlete.

After graduating from San Jose State College he received the Woodrow Wilson scholarship and obtained a master's degree at Cornell University. He is resigning his position at San Jose State College at the end of this semester and will again attend Cornell University to complete his doctorate.

It is reported that he has an IQ of 163 and he is presently 25 years of age.

I would like to read from an excerpt from a feature article, "We'll Live Together or Die Together" from the *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle* of December 3, 1967.

The following excerpts were made by Edwards, describing his age and his background. He said:

"People look at me and say, 'Edwards is mad.' I get stacks and stacks of fan mail and they say, 'Edwards, go back to Africa.'

"But they're not going back to Europe and I'm not going back to Africa. We're either going to live together in this society or die together."

He paused, sounding a snicker.

"Check this," he said to a small group lining the near wall and listening. "Now, when this cat writes this up, it'll come out in the paper as, 'Edwards is for integration.'"

The audience laughed.

And other of his statements are:

"I'm NOT for integration. I'm NOT for separation. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael are NOT for separation. What we're all after is FREEDOM."

* * * * *

"Why do white folks always try to shove * * * [a four-letter word] down our throats?" he snapped. "I'm not aligned with anybody. I'm aligning myself with whatever program is aimed at getting black people freedom in this country. And I don't care what the white people, the white press, or the white government thinks of me."

At another point he said:

"* * * I don't buy the idea that white people are born devils—I believe they're turned into them.

"The same morality that makes it possible for a white man to call a black man a nigger and refuse him a job is the same morality guiding the pilots in Vietnam—that allows this country to drop napalm on women and children."

When he was asked why he avoided saying "our country," he retorted "YOUR country!"

Meaning not ours, necessarily. So much for his remarks.

He says:

"I still advocate sitting down and talking with white folks," Edwards says, "but I'm not going to be * * * [using an 11-letter word]. If the white man isn't going to talk to me, then we move up to the next step.

"How far this thing goes doesn't depend on Rap Brown. The young blacks in this country are just fed up with the lies, the trickery, the * * * [an eight-letter word] of white people."

He is quite outspoken in his remarks.

Mr. SMITH. I request this document be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, that will be received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 126" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Can you tell us anything about Edwards' activity?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. He was an organizer of the United Black Students for Action. He was one of the principal organizers. It was

formed at San Jose State College in San Jose, and he is credited with being its leader.

Mr. SMITH. When was this organization formed?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The first meeting was held September 14, 1967.

Mr. SMITH. Can you estimate the membership?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It is supposed to have—the last I heard, I think it had 60 members.

Mr. SMITH. What was the purpose for the United Black Students for Action?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Edwards and his organization charged campus discrimination and said charges were subsequently substantiated by the university administration. He made certain demands and stated that if these demands were not met, "We'll disrupt everything. There will be no football game this Saturday night."

I have an exhibit, if you please, from a newspaper, Bay area newspaper [*San Francisco Chronicle*, September 19, 1967], quoting the intent to disrupt the football game on that following week. It quotes Edwards as having said:

"We'll disrupt everything. There will be no football game this Saturday night. We'll send men out onto the playing field.

"We'll block off Fraternity Row and we'll pitch tents in front of the fraternity houses. * * * if any Neanderthal type decides to throw garbage on us or get smart like that, he'd just better have his hospitalization papers in order."

He also went on to say:

"You heard what he * * * [referring to a black militant] had to say. That's where it's at. If things don't get better than this, Uncle Tom won't be able to cool it any longer."

Mr. SMITH. I request the document be received in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, it will be received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 127" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Further, I have a copy of an exhibit dated September 21, 1967, put out by Harry Edwards, coordinator of the United Black Students for Action. This is the list of the demands it is making on the State College at San Jose.

Mr. SMITH. I request this document be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 128" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. As a result of the formation of this organization and the threat to disrupt a football game between San Jose State College and the University of Texas at El Paso, Texas, the game was canceled by the president of the college over the protest of a great many people who felt that they should not have caved in to the demands of Harry Edwards.

The athletic director of San Jose State College said interference with the game could lead to mass violence and they were afraid this could break out into a full-scale riot if the game were held and these demonstrators did make their appearance, as threatened by Edwards [*Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1967].

San Jose State College President Robert D. Clark, in announcing the cancellation of the game, stated, "The danger comes from the possible involvement of off-campus persons and groups, who by Sat-

urday night, may be unaware of our progress towards a solution" [*San Jose Mercury*, September 21, 1967]. He is referring to efforts that were made to meet some of the complaints which Edwards and his group had cited.

Edwards had this to say when he was invited to speak at "Experiment in Education" at Foothill College, which is in an adjacent community, on September 27, 1967. He stated that if the football game had been played, it could have marked "the onset of the second American revolution," and further, "I'm talking about guerrilla warfare with snipers in buildings." That was reported by the *San Jose Mercury* on September 28, 1967. I have a clipping of that, a copy of that particular story.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request these documents be received for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 129-A, B, and C," respectively. Exhibits 129-A and B retained in committee files. Exhibit 129-C appears on page 2162.)

Mr. SMITH. Has Edwards participated in any other activities?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes. Currently and for the past several months he has been advocating and attempting to formulate a boycott of the Olympic games in Mexico City by Negroes. He contends the Negroes should hold their own Olympic games in Africa and he is encouraging outstanding athletes to boycott the Olympics.

Now he has formed an organization to further this goal. The organization is called the Olympic Boycott Committee, and he proposed that the Olympic games in Africa will not be restricted to the Negro race. His project is not receiving too much support. For a while it did. At the outset even men like the noted athletes like Ralph Boston here on the East Coast, who is a long jumper, at first concurred with Edwards and then, within a matter of a few days, changed his mind completely.

I know, Mr. Chairman, in Sacramento, California, a week ago tonight the National AAU Championships were held—Friday and Saturday nights—which were semiqualyfying rounds for the Olympic trials. The Olympic trials themselves will be held, finals will be held in Los Angeles tomorrow and Sunday evening. I have direct knowledge of a meeting that was called at 1 a.m. in the city of Sacramento a week ago tonight at which Harry Edwards again furthered his advocacy of a complete boycott.

Mr. Robert Brachman, Bob Brachman, one of the sportswriters for the *San Francisco Examiner*, a veteran reporter with excellent contacts and considered the foremost man in his given field there in the Bay area, wrote of the meeting through contacts after the meeting.

The press was barred. There were no white people present. But certain sources that have direct knowledge of what transpired at that meeting said that they thought to all intents and purposes Harry Edwards' cause had been lost, that it was not going to prove successful. He reported that another meeting will be held in Los Angeles, either Sunday night following the final qualifying trials or will be held Monday. Mr. Brachman reported, and I noticed since I have arrived here that the Associated Press is now carrying much of the same story, that unless 75 percent of the Negroes, at least, who

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT NO. 129-C
 [San Jose Mercury, September 28, 1967]

NEGRO WARNS:

Revolution Was Averted

By STEVE GRUBER
 Mercury Staff Writer

LOS ALTOS HILLS — If last Saturday's San Jose State College football game had been played, it could have marked "the onset of the second American revolution," a Negro leader claimed Tuesday.

"I'm talking about guerrilla warfare with snipers in buildings," SJS Prof. Harry Edwards told a Foothill College audience.

The game was canceled last Wednesday after Edwards told SJS president Robert D. Clark that agitators from outside the campus community had threatened to "burn down" the stadium.

The cancellation was attacked by two state officials Tuesday as "appeasement."

"I feel it was yielding; it was appeasement," Gov. Ronald Reagan said. "It was yielding to a threat of force."

State Superintendent of Instruction Max Rafferty said SJS administrators had submitted to "blackmail."

"If I had to call out the Marine Corps, the game would have been played," Rafferty said.

Had the Marines been called out to quell the football demonstration, the protestors would have been "wiped out," Edwards admitted at Foothill Wednesday, but added that the protest would have continued as long as the discrimination existed.

Edwards added that his teaching job may now be in jeopardy due to his role in the protest.

But the former San Jose State basketball player said he will continue to lead the Negro group seeking an end to alleged discrimination at SJS.

"If I have to keep my mouth shut to keep my job, then the hell with my job," the sociology professor said.

Edwards drew applause from the audience of 300 Foothill students when he told them, "There's a new generation of black Americans in this society who are going to participate in it or else they're going to destroy it."

"Black people are no longer afraid of dying for nothing because you white Christians are going to give them every reason necessary.

"But we're going to be rational so long as rationality works.

"If it comes down to an animal to animal confrontation, then that's what it's going to be," Edwards added.

Speaking at an "Experiment in Education" seminar at the invitation of a student group that runs the non-credit classes, the sociology professor said the principle of turning the other cheek when attacked is outmoded.

"When I'm attacked, I'm a crazy, irrational fool," he said.

claiming that if the group of Negroes had been attacked while demonstrating at the football game, he could not have controlled them.

"I made it extremely clear to the administration and to the racist dogs that I am non-violent. But if anybody throws garbage on me or spits in my face, I am going to try to send him to the cemetery."

"If the United States can send us to Vietnam, Korea, World War II, and World War I to be violent in defense of its political philosophy, then we are justified in using violence," he said.

"We are not going to be beaten when we are morally right."

Edwards repeated his claims of discrimination against SJS Negro athletes. They are forced to live in motels while playing football for San Jose State due to racist apartment landlords, he said.

"San Jose State fraternities and Mississippi State fraternities are exactly the same," he said.

Admitting that some Negroes are admitted to fraternities, he asserted that when the white fraternity men hold parties, "blacks are given \$20 and sent off to twiddle their thumbs for the night" to keep them away from the party.

do qualify for the Olympics at these trials being held tomorrow and Sunday in Los Angeles, unless 75 percent are in favor of Edwards' proposed boycott, then it will be deemed a failure and all of the participating athletes will compete in Mexico City regardless.

In other words, they presumably have reached an agreement among themselves to that effect. Now it remains to be seen what happens in Los Angeles at this meeting either Sunday night or during the day Monday, at which time Edwards is again expected to make his pitch. The voting on the issue will be limited only to those who actually have qualified for the United States Olympic team.

I have, in that regard, exhibits touching on Edwards himself and his boycott [*Register*, June 23, 1968; *San Francisco Examiner*, June 23, 1968; and *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 12, 1968].

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I request the documents be received in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 130-A, B, and C," respectively. Exhibits 130-A and B retained in committee files. Exhibit 130-C appears on page 2164.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That concludes my testimony on Mr. Edwards.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, do you have knowledge of additional material relating to inflammatory campus racial activities at San Francisco State College?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes. At San Francisco State College there are and have been a number of student organizations such as the Black Students Union; Movement Against Political Suspension, better known as MAPS; Progressive Labor Party; Students for a Democratic Society; Iranian Students Association, which is composed of exchange students, foreign students; Vietnam Day Committee; W. E. B. DuBois Club; and a relative newcomer there known as the Third World Liberation Front.

Mr. SMITH. Will you describe the Black Students Union, please?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes. In January 1964 the Negro Students Association was formed and it changed its name in March 1966. During the life of the Negro Students Association the word "Negro" had become unattractive to the Negro militants, who preferred to be called Afro-American or blacks. This was the apparent reason for the name change of the organization to the Black Students Union.

The format or objectives of the Black Students Union remained unchanged. The purposes are:

"To engage in projects which the membership considers to be in the interest of the Negro community. To engage in the study of Negro history. And to foster the growth of and dissemination of Negro cultural contributions."¹

Mr. SMITH. Is the Black Students Union recognized by the college administration?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. What is the membership of the organization?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Well, I would have to give you an estimate. I would say roughly 100 persons, 100 members.

¹ Excerpt from Montgomery Exhibit No. 133, introduced on p. 2170.

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT NO. 130-C
[San Francisco Chronicle]

7
 ☆☆☆ Fri., Apr. 12, 1968

San Jose Professor Joins Black Panthers

By Dick Hallgren

Harry Edwards, the young San Jose State College sociology professor who is organizing the Negro boycott of this year's Olympics, declared yesterday that he has decided to become a member of the Black Panther party.

And he urged other Negroes—the doctors, the lawyers, those who have achieved social standing—to join the militant group and to help serve notice on society that “You can no longer ignore the Black Panthers.”

Said Edwards: “We have to go down to the grass roots to join them since they can't join us.”

He said he felt black people had “an obligation to participate even if they don't agree with all the goals” of the Panthers. It is the Panthers, he said, who are mobilizing to ward off further “brutalization and harassment” of the black people.

BERET

The 24-year-old associate professor, at six-foot-eight a former basketball star, had already donned some of the accoutrements of the Panthers for his morning press conference. He wore a black beret and large black sunglasses, although the confer-

ence room at the Sun-Reporter offices was poorly lighted. And it was announced at the outset that he would not respond to questions about “Negroes” but would insist on questions about “black people.”

More than that, however, was the quality of his voice: Impassioned, sarcastic, sorrowful, angry, anguished and finally desperate.

“If I'm a pseudo-slave, a 20th Century slave, if my life is not worth as much as a white man's life,” he said, “then I'm dead anyway.”

He said he “makes no bones” about how he is perceived in this society which is “so corrupt, so cancerous and so degraded” that it could allow the assassination of so great a man as Dr. Martin Luther King, that it could “allow some cracker to think he could get away with” such a crime.

VIOLENCE

He said he believed influential Negroes were mistaken in assuming that they would be immune from attack by racists—and this was the same mistake made by the Jews in Hitler's Germany when the imprisonments there began.

The principal of non-violence, said Edwards, died long before Dr. King died. Oakland.

Nonviolence now, he said, will be “shored up with the principle of self-defense.”

Dr. King, said Edwards, was “a preacher, he was a saint. But I'm a man, and I'm going to be treated as such.

“‘We shall overcome,’ yes. But I want to add one more stanza: By any means necessary.”

MEMORIAL

He declared: “I personally encourage violence, until somebody shows me a better way. Non-violence essentially has not worked.”

Two other press conferences were held, one here and one at Stanford, to urge support for the Panthers.

Four Bay Area college professors, who said they represented a total of 17 professors, attacked the “systematic harassment” of the Panthers and urged that the U.S. Civil Rights Commission investigate the Oakland police department.

The four professors are Fred Thalheimer, professor of sociology at San Francisco State College; Sandra Schickel, professor of social science, also at State; Bruce Franklin, an English professor at Stanford; and Richard Lichtman, professor of philosophy at the University of California in Berkeley.

Mr. SMITH. How many Negro students are there at San Francisco State College?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Approximately 600.

Mr. SMITH. What is the enrollment of San Francisco State College?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The total enrollment at the last figures I had was approximately 18,000—17,500 to 18,000.

Mr. SMITH. How is the Black Student Union financed?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Is it financed from the Associated Students Fund, that is, funds that are contributed, compulsory contributions by students attending the college. They have to contribute to this fund.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have a record of the finances?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I do. For 1966 and 1967 the following information was developed. This information is from a report, "Black Power' at San Francisco State College—Prepared by: members of the Executive and Legislature, Associated Students, San Francisco State College," and dated May or June, I believe of this year [Montgomery Exhibit No. 131].

Mr. SMITH. Of this year?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Of 1967, I am sorry.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have the financial allotments for 1967 and 1968?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I have.

The breakdown of the money made available to the Black Students Union, they were given a subsidy of \$5,975 for the year '66-'67. The Community Involvement Project hired the BSU, the Black Students Union chairman, Jimmy Garrett, James Garrett, at \$1,100 for 1966-67. Mr. Garrett, along with other leaders of the BSU, received salaries totaling \$3,244 through the Economic Opportunity Act [of 1964]. These are Federal funds I am talking about, in addition to the student funds which I referred to earlier, of which the Associated Students paid 10 percent and the Federal Government 90 percent. It is quite a subsidy they are receiving from the Federal Government, and in addition \$3,025 was given to the Work-Study Project pilot program, which is controlled by Black Students Union leader Marianna Waddy, whose name may or may not be familiar to this committee. It is well known to me.

A breakdown of the money made available to the leadership of the BSU from Associated Students, this is the Associated Students Fund only, aside from the Federal funding, is roughly \$6,000 to the Black Students Union, \$13,000 to the Tutorial Project—and this was sending students from campus out in the minority group areas to help tutor youngsters, 12, 14, 16 years of age.

The Black Communications Project was allowed roughly \$4,500, the Visiting Professor Program, \$1,600, the Black Arts and Culture Division of the Experimental College, roughly \$2,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Now you have testified how much money was received by several groups. Where did that money come from?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Most of the money came from the Associated Students Fund, but there was additional money coming from the Federal Government, as much as 90 percent of some of these projects, as much as 90 percent funding by the Federal Government in addition to these sums.

The CHAIRMAN. Under what program?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Under the Economic Opportunity Act.

Then a salary to James Garrett of roughly \$1,100 was paid, an Economic Opportunity Act salary to James Garrett and Marianna Waddy and Ty Barnett. Here is a figure paid by the Federal Government, \$3,244.

Then the contribution to the Black Arts West Theater, which has put on some very racist plays—I have witnessed a couple of them—\$500.

Then a special Work-Study Project for Marianna Waddy, in excess of \$3,000 was paid.

It is a total of \$34,838.50.

The report stated the :

Associated Students membership fees are mandatory at S.F.S.C. [S.F. State College]. Each student must pay \$10.00 a semester to register as a full-time student. The Education Code specifies the intent for which the money can be spent ; it very plainly excludes any "racist" organizations from subsidies.

Yet, despite the Education Code this money is being diverted in great measure to what constitutes out-and-out racist programs through the Black Student government subsidies :

The student government's subsidies to the Black Students Union have been known and countenanced by the administration. A student majority of the legislature tried to express their concern by not funding the Black Communications Project. However, the motion was passed when the two administration [members] and the one faculty member of the legislature voted together for the \$4,420.00 figure. * * *

In addition to elected student members, there are sitting on that student legislature two members of the college administration, members of the president's staff, and one member of the faculty. This became a very testy situation out there. There were threats and counter-threats, and the meeting wound up in a hassle and had to be adjourned. Seven of the students voted in opposition to this program, four of the students voted for it. So, as far as the students themselves were concerned, the majority of the students on the legislature were opposed to this. But supporting these four students, who incidentally are Black Student Union members, were these two administrators and one faculty member so that made a tie vote, seven and seven. The matter was put over.

The first budget failed to pass because of this tie vote. So the Black Students Union and the administration members then fought for the acceptance of two questionable proxy votes. There were two proxy votes they went out and solicited and brought in and eventually, over a protest of what constituted a majority of the students on the legislature, this program was passed.

The report continues :

The Black Students Union has become increasingly militant on the campus, packing meetings and threatening anyone who would oppose them. The administration's policy seems to be one of appeasement at every point. It is clear that the actions of the administration have ceased to be in the interests of the majority of students at San Francisco State. We [students] call for an immediate review by the Board of Trustees of the California State Colleges of the situation at San Francisco State College.

What I have been reading is not my own opinion or a newspaper article, but a report prepared by students within that legislature themselves who are opposed to what has been going on. I might observe this occurrence right here was perhaps what marked the beginning of

the end of Dr. John Summerskill, who no longer is president at San Francisco State College. He had announced his retirement and, as I said earlier, it was to have taken effect in July. And then things got out of hand in January and February and to the point where finally the head of the board of trustees, State colleges of California, discharged him. They brought in another president.

Mr. SMITH. Is LeRoi Jones mentioned in that document [Exhibit No. 131]?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, he is. LeRoi Jones is mentioned as having been hired as a teacher in English drama and his subsidy was paid. He was paid by this fund, the Black Students Union fund. He was paid \$1,600 for what was to have been 2 months of work. It is my understanding he probably spent in that 2 months of time as much as 2 weeks on campus. He was not there continually.

While he was giving a number of racist and inflammatory speeches, he was being paid.

I have some material on his background. Of course, I think you have had earlier testimony from Newark on this man. But he is a Negro playwright from New York. His plays are especially vicious in content against the white people and the United States Government. He, at one time, was in charge of a theatrical project funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity. These funds were eventually withdrawn or ran out.

According to the report :

LeRoi Jones was invited to San Francisco State College as a "visiting professor" by the 1966-67 student government. He was to be paid \$1,600.00 for approximately 2 months' work. A contract was signed with Jones which included that he was to engage in educational activities related to the program of the Black Students Union, to "conduct workshops," and to speak on and off campus.

There are a number of statements in the report made by and about Mr. Jones and some of the plays that he has written, which will set the tone of his attitude toward the United States. These are some examples:

From *Commentary* magazine, February 1965, it quotes LeRoi Jones as saying :

Guerrilla warfare is inevitable in the North and the South. Every black is a potential revolutionist . . . you can't use nuclear weapons against us when we kill a few cops . . . there is no way of saving America.

Again, from the *U.S. News & World Report*, December 13, 1965, quoting LeRoi Jones as having said :

The force we want is of 20 million spooks [Negroes] storming America with furious cries and unstoppable weapons. We want actual explosions and actual brutality. . .

Again, from *Time* magazine, December 25, 1964, the review of two plays, "The Toilet" and "The Slave," written and produced by LeRoi Jones :

"The Toilet" and "The Slave" are one act spasms of fury. Naked hate, like naked love, is very hard to sustain on a stage. But Jones can do it with venomous intensity. . . . near the play's end, ["The Toilet"] a white boy's bloodied head lies in a urinal. Jones makes it abundantly clear that he would gladly consign every white man's bloodied head to that identical spot.

Mr. SMITH. Were these plays produced at the time he was funded by OEO?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Whether they all were or not I don't know. There were plays such as "Arm Yourself or Harm Yourself," which I know was funded in part by OEO.

Then from *Esquire* in June of 1966, again quoting Jones:

It's simple. Harlem is an independent state with its own laws—black laws, and its own culture—black culture. And it will be the only future in this country—the black future. If any whites should still be around, they might be allowed to wander through the black world as tired, placid tourists.

Quoting from *Newsweek*, May 2, 1966, a review of *Home: Social Essays* by LeRoi Jones:

Alter some of the elements and Jones's essays would have gone over big in Berlin and Munich around 1933. Jones begins with some home truths and fabricates a colossal [sic] lie.

Quoting Jones, from *Commentary* magazine, February 1965, a direct quote:

My ideas revolve around the rotting and destruction of America, so I can't really expect someone who is part of that to accept my ideas.

Also, an article from George Dennison's column in *Commentary*, February 1965. Speaking of having attended one of these plays, Dennison says:

There were many young Negroes in the audience the night that I saw these plays ["The Toilet" and "The Slave" by LeRoi Jones]. More than a few shouted their approval, and from time to time the theater swarmed with the hatred of racism. There were three high points in their excitement. The first occurred when the Negro revolutionary beat up the liberal-intellectual (judo); the second when the revolutionary enacted a brief rape of his former wife; and the third when the revolutionary shot the intellectual. The responses of the young men in the audience, however, ("Give it to him!") were not triggered by the actions, but by the well-turned and very plentiful put-down-Whitey phrases that accompanied them.

Then, from the *Golden Gater* [July 22, 1966], the newspaper on the San Francisco State College campus:

[James] Garret¹ [President, Black Students Union, S.F. State] said the present black nationalist movement is concerned only with the black people and that it does not strive for an integrated society[sic]. . . . The black nationalist movement wants a black society for black people, and Garret said that he would do anything necessary to bring about such a society—from reading a book if that is necessary, to killing as the white man has done so often.

The report also contains two students' statements which constitute affidavits.

During the Associated Students Legislature meeting held on May 12, I expressed my objection to and voted against the appropriation of money for the Black Communications Project of LeRoi Jones. After the meeting, two members of the Black Students Union turned to me and one said, "Don't come on campus at night if you want to stay alive." I asked them to give me their names but they walked away. Several other people witnessed the incident.

I know that complaints were made to the local police district, that more than one person who opposed this appropriation were threatened. This affidavit was from Kay Tsenin.

Another similar one:

While I was walking away from the A. S. Legislature meeting of May 11, several Negroes approached me and asked how I was going to vote on the appropriation for LeRoi Jones. I replied that they would have to wait until the following

¹ Correct spelling "Garrett."

day to find out. One of them then said, "If you boys don't vote the right way, some of you are going to get cut up."

I certify this to be a true and correct statement.

It is signed, "Tony Volk, 5/17/67." He was among those who opposed the LeRoi Jones program.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 131" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Now, I understand with reference to LeRoi Jones that at this committee's hearings on the Newark riots some weeks ago there was evidence presented that LeRoi Jones may have had some change of heart or perhaps does not subscribe to these doctrines that I have expressed here and may not subscribe to them any longer.

However, when he was in the San Francisco area he certainly made highly racist and inflammatory speeches. He may have changed his mind meanwhile, I don't know.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned James Garrett a while ago as being connected with the Black Students Union. Who is he?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Incidentally, I have an exhibit on LeRoi Jones that I would like to put in the record [article from *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 5, 1967] to back up what I have been testifying to, in which LeRoi Jones is quoted as saying: "You'd better get yourself a gun if you want to survive the white man's wrath," as a warning to Negroes. He said, "Those white policemen aren't here to protect you—they're there to kill you." This is as late as February of 1967.

Mr. SMITH. I request this document be received in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 132-A" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I also have the entire script of his play produced at San Francisco State. It is called, "Arm Yourself or Harm Yourself." There is so much filth in it I would doubt that you would want me to read it into the record. However, I think the committee should have it. It is full of obscenities from beginning to end.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. It will be retained in the files.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 132-B" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That concludes what I had on LeRoi Jones.

You were asking about James Garrett?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, who is he?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. In 1966 he was president of the Black Students Union, San Francisco State College. He later became off-campus coordinator. He is originally from Los Angeles and was a leader of SNCC in that area.

Mr. SMITH. In your testimony you set forth the format and objectives of the Black Students Union. From this format it appears that the organization is working towards the best interests of the Negro community. Is this true?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I would say no, I would have to say no. I have a number of statements from its leadership which I would like to read into the record. The first person I refer to is James Garrett. This particular statement appeared in the *Golden Gater* on July 22, 1966, and is reprinted in an exhibit which has been previously introduced into the record [Montgomery Exhibit No. 131]:

[James] Garret [sic] [President, Black Students Union, S.F. State] said the present black nationalist movement is concerned only with the black people and that it does not strive for an integrated society [sic]. . . .

The same statement I previously read to you.

Three articles were run in the *San Francisco Examiner* concerning the racial issues at San Francisco State College, and this particular article is dated December 13, 1967 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 133]. I quote the following statement made by a member of the Black Students Union. This details the racial turmoil at San Francisco State, with emphasis on two people particularly, Jimmy Garrett and Jerry Varnado:

The BSU was originally formed at San Francisco [sic] State as the Negro Students Association in January, 1964. The name was changed to Black Students Union in March, 1966.

Its goals were to engage in projects for the Negro community. In 1960 between 10 and 11 percent of the student body were Negroes, according to the president, John Summerskill. Last year it was 31½ percent. Some of the things they have stood for at one time or another—the Tutorial Program, its coordinator “is a member of the BSU [Black Students Union], as are at least three-fourths of the tutors.”

What the writer is pointing out is that within the Black Students Union these members are the ones being sent out in the adjacent communities to work with students of the ages of 12, 14, 16 years old, right at the formative stages of life.

The Black Students Union on-campus coordinator is Jerry Varnado. He says he does not hate white people, he just claims, “You don’t HATE a cancer. You cut it out.”

I might say, I had an occasion to trace guns. I spoke earlier in testimony about the Hall of Flowers, the campaign to raise money for guns for the black community. I know of my own knowledge that Jerry Varnado made two trips to an Army surplus store, a privately run surplus store on Sierra Street in Reno there by Commercial Road.

I know that he went there in October, late in October of 1967, and acquired four weapons, hand weapons. I believe there were three .38’s and one Afta .9 millimeter automatic. He returned within a week or 10 days and acquired five more. Within a period of 10 days he had acquired and paid cash for nine hand weapons, either .9 millimeter or .38 caliber.

I know that on one occasion he attended one of his own meetings on campus wearing a .38 strapped to his hip. This is Jerry Varnado who is the coordinator of the BSU on the campus. Where that money came from, whether this is part of the funds raised by Robert Avakian I have no way of knowing. I do know when they go up there they peel off large sums of money, \$100 bills to pay for guns.

Mr. SMITH. Were the San Francisco police aware of this?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. They were not at that time. We knew they were getting weapons, and it took some time to find out where these weapons were coming from. Occasionally one would be arrested with one of these Afta .9 millimeter guns, and through serial numbers and one thing and another it was traced to this store in Reno.

The fact that there is an arsenal somewhere has been established. One man arrested in Berkeley recently for illegal gun possession was a man by the name of Contrell. He was an ex-convict. That same night

he was bailed out. His record had not caught up with him. He failed to show for arraignment. His weapon had been taken from him, a .9 millimeter Afta which had been purchased in Reno. About a week later this man was shot to death in Los Angeles in a three-way gun fight among Negro militants, and the weapon he used was another identical .9 millimeter Afta coming from this same source in Reno, acquired at the same time as the gun that had been taken from him by police earlier.

The guns had not been purchased by this man, but they are being made available. So you have a man with a gun taken away from him, and the next day he has another gun.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is appropriate for me to make a statement.

Mr. Montgomery, I want to thank you in the name of the committee for appearing to testify on the matters you have discussed.

If there is one thing that is clear to me, and to the other members who have heard your testimony, it is that you are certainly one of the most widely and best informed witnesses the committee has heard in many, many years. It is also evident that, in preparation for your appearance yesterday and today, you have done a tremendous amount of work. For this, too, we are very grateful and you certainly deserve a great deal of credit.

Your presentation has been outstanding. You have made a very great contribution to this inquiry, and again I say we are most grateful.

I understand that you have additional material to present to the committee. Unfortunately, I have other commitments and I cannot remain here at this time and no other members of the committee are available. I will, therefore, grant permission for you to submit the remainder of your material for the committee record in the form of an affidavit, with it being taken by the reporter who is present. This can be done at this time or later in the day, if you would prefer that.

Again, Mr. Montgomery, I want to thank you for your presentation.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting of this subcommittee will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., Friday, June 28, 1968, the subcommittee recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

AFFIDAVIT OF EDWARD S. MONTGOMERY

(Edward Montgomery, having been previously duly sworn, was examined and testified further as follows:)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, pursuant to the chairman's directions just before we recessed, will you continue to present your testimony concerning the matter in affidavit form.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I shall.

I would like to call attention with regard to the matter of campus turmoil on the racial issues that hit San Francisco State College.

The *San Francisco Examiner* of December 13, 1967 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 133], refers to Jimmy Garrett and Jerry Varnado. Also, the story reflects a quote from George Murray, who was a member of the Black Student Union and an English instructor and at one time was on-campus coordinator of the Tutorial Program. His quote was:

"As brother LeRoi Jones said: They owe us everything, including their lives."

On another occasion, Murray was quoted:

"Anything we do to the 'dog' cannot be wrong. . . . The only crimes we can commit are crimes against humanity. * * *"

Another quote from the Black Student Union, a member speaking at an organizational meeting:

"We don't owe these racist dog professors anything. They owe us their lives—and we have a right to take it."

Again, at a Black Student Union rally, the speaker said:

"The ultimate responsibility" * * * "is to the black nation . . . in this Babylon called America. . . . We should be becoming warriors . . . (and) commit acts of war in the interest of people being a nation."

Contending that chemical warfare is developed on college campuses, he added: "If you kill a chemistry professor, then you are preventing the death of maybe 20,000 black people."

Jimmy Garrett had this statement to make:

"There will be reprisals. . . . There are certain brothers and certain sisters around this country who are slated to die. That's very important if you can dig life. They're slated to be killed."

Speaking on the matter of loyalty, one member of the Black Student Union, returning from the recent Black Youth Conference at Los Angeles, explained that "Uncle Toms" will now be designated as "traitors," and he added that with that word:

"You realize you're a nation and you deal with traitors accordingly."

I am submitting this article from the *San Francisco Examiner* dated December 13, 1967, for the record.

Mr. SMITH. The document will be received for the record.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 133" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Did the Black Student Union engage in any violence on the campus of San Francisco State College?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, they did.

On November 6, 1967, nine students, including members of the Black Student Union, broke into the State College campus newspaper office—that is the *Gater*—and attacked the editor, who was hospitalized, and injured several other staff employees. The cause of this rumpus was evidently the fact that the paper failed to run a photo of the Black Student Union candidate for homecoming queen. However, the city editor of the *Daily Gater* claimed the photo arrived too late to run with the other candidates' pictures and it was run in a subsequent edition as a separate story.

There are submitted for the record newspaper accounts of that particular occasion, one of which is from the *San Francisco Examiner* of November 6, 1967, which cites the facts:

Meanwhile, as three others stood outside the main office door, apparently to block exit or entrance, the other eight men began beating other staff members, overturning tables, and scattering newspapers and typewriters.

There was a part-time journalism instructor, Lynn Ludlow, who was present at that time and he suffered a broken finger.

The UPI account in a San Francisco press release [*Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 1967] quoted the editors of the campus paper

saying they had no idea what motivated the attack, but it was by the Black Student Union.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 134-A and B," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. With regard to the arrests as a result of the incident, there were nine arrests and nine suspensions.

I now submit for the record the *San Francisco Examiner* for November 14, 1967, an account about the nine individuals who were arrested and who were suspended. They eventually were booked on conspiracy and assault charges. If you want their names, I have an account listing the names of six of the individuals [*San Francisco Examiner* of November 10, 1967]:

Benjamin Stewart, 23, of 1158 Page St., chairman of the Black Students Union on the campus, and George Murray, 21, of 515 Douglas St., head of the BSU's student body tutorial program.

The other four, who refused to say whether they were associated with the BSU, were booked as:

Winston Herring, 18, of 258 Bridgeview Drive; Danny L. Glover, 21, of 860 Oak St.; Clarence Thomas, 20, no local address, and Landon R. Williams, 23, of 3817 17th St.

Eventually, after considerable delay, Dr. Summerskill did sign formal complaints on these individuals, and after much delay they were taken into custody. There was an arrangement at that time that police would not go on campus. These nine were to have surrendered through their attorney. Unfortunately, that was not the case, and eventually it became necessary for the police to go on campus to seek them out. Some of them had been living on campus in the Black Student Union, although it is not equipped as a dormitory. They were sleeping there, eating there, residing there, rather than risking going off campus.

Eventually, it was necessary for the tactical squad to go in and effect their arrest, and they were arrested and prosecuted.

There was an incident with one individual, Jack Alexis, 24, a member of the Black Student Union, but he had not been arrested as of the date of that article, but a warrant for his arrest had been issued. He is a foreign student and a noncitizen. If I am not mistaken, he is still the subject of a search in San Francisco.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 135-A and B," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have one other matter. The Black Student Union called a press conference, and this is reflected in the account of the *Daily Gater* for November 17, 1967, at the San Francisco State College, at which a press conference was held:

Television and radio men tried continually to redirect the Gallery Lounge press conference to the subject of violence in the Gater office. The BSU refused to be baited by any of the media's questions, and instead talked only about BSU philosophy and work.

The main speakers for the BSU were Jerry Varnado, on-campus coordinator, and Jimmy Garrett, off-campus coordinator. They were flanked by Tom Williams, director of the Tutorial program, and Bill Smith, national coordinator for the BSU.

I offer that for the record.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 136" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Did any organization or group lend assistance to the Black Student Union?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have one other observation. While nine students were suspended for participation in the attack, this was later reduced to four suspensions and five were either put on probation or sent letters of warning. This was the action under the administration of Dr. Summerskill.

Your last question, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Did any organization render aid and assistance to the Black Student Union?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes. A new organization was created called MAPS, Movement Against Political Suspension. The editor of the campus publication *Open Process* was suspended. His name was Blair Paltridge, and one of his writers, Jefferson Poland, was also suspended.

The paper printed some obscene material under Poland's signature. Poland is better known around the San Francisco area for his leadership in the Sexual Freedom League.

I have a masthead and also a portion of the *Open Process* to submit as an exhibit.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 137" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I might say that Jefferson Poland recently was a candidate for the presidency of the student body at San Francisco State College, and prior to his running for that office he legally changed his name to Jefferson and a middle name—a four-letter word—and Poland. It followed his Sexual Freedom League philosophy. Needless to say, he was not elected.

With regard to the *Open Process* publication, it is published weekly by the Board of Publications for the Associated Students at San Francisco State College, and the office is at Hut B on the campus, which, according to my recollection, joins quonset huts that are used for student activities and that adjoins the hut of the student organization.

They say, and this next sentence is supposed to be humorous:

POSTAL REGULATION: "Effective at once, used clothing and used footwear in gift parcels to East Germany is prohibited."

Our guest sermon today comes from Alan R. Fisher of the Port Chicago Vigil:

They maintain a vigil at Port Chicago, which is a harbor on the Bay, the northern reaches of the Bay, from which are loaded munitions by the Navy, munitions being destined to Vietnam and other military bases.

There is quite an article here on how to commit sabotage:

Sabotage is the only remaining route to peace.

Sabotage is anything that slows, damages, fouls up, or makes costly. It need not be violent. Some forms of sabotage are legal; some are "hit and run" actions; another is civil disobedience. Sabotage need not stop with imprisonment.

Targets for sabotage are any parts of government connected with war, and any war industry.

HOW DO YOU COMMIT SABOTAGE? Break war-related laws: draft, security, federal trespassing. Damage war equipment. Join with your fellow workers in strikes, slowdowns, and "botching the job" in key war industries: steel, transportation, aerospace, electronics, etc.

Publish state secrets you have access to, either in the press or as leaflets. People have a right to know what "their" government is up to.

It advocates a general program of hostility to Vietnam efforts.

MAPS was also supporting the four Black Student Union members who were involved in the attack on the office of the *Daily Gater*. There were nine originally and finally this was reduced to four by Dr. Summerskill. The president of the university, after being threatened with mass demonstrations, withdrew the suspensions of Blair Paltridge and Jefferson Poland. This information appears in the *Examiner* of December 2, 1967 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 138], in which James Garrett is listed as the off-campus coordinator of the Black Student Union.

The story in essence is that after a backdown by President John Summerskill on the suspension of a campus publication, its editor, and a writer, San Francisco State College faced these upcoming events:

A demonstration by 1000 or more Black Student Union members and adherents next Wednesday.

Continued hearings the same day on the suspensions by the Student Board of Appeal and Review.

Also, on the same day, six major demands will be made on Summerskill by the San Francisco State branch of the organization which recently emerged on other campuses and is known as the Movement Against Political Suspension.

The story goes on to say that these demands are eventually going to be made. They are referring to Blair Paltridge and Jefferson Poland who started *Open Process*:

Paltridge was suspended for publishing, and Poland for writing, a poem about sex in the Nov. 14 issue of *Open Process*, which is financed by \$14,000 in student fees.

James Garrett, off-campus coordinator of the Black Student Union, announced at the rally the plan for 1000 or more of his members to appear next Wednesday.

The demands which the Movement Against Political Suspension will make that day are these:

That Summerskill drop all suspensions and give the accused a "trial by their peers."

That he reinstate *Open Process*.

That he drop "political harassment."

That he refuse to permit San Francisco police on the campus.

That he give assurance of student control of campus publications.

The *San Francisco Examiner* for December 4, 1967 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 139], lists the demands of MAPS and lists the name of Bob Fenster as a member of the MAPS steering committee. It simply reviews the forming of this new committee and tells of a meeting in Los Angeles at which Summerskill and the presidents of 17 other colleges were prodded by the State college trustees and met in an all-day session in Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke's office to draft an agenda of discipline problems created by student activism and probe for solutions to these problems. This article reflects the demands that were being made, at that time, of the administration.

There was one other additional demand made:

"End political harassment of faculty, students, staff and administrators, as for example drama Prof. Paul Rebillot's loss of tenure and the docking of international relations Prof. John Gerassi's pay."

San Francisco Examiner, December 6, 1967 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 140]:

San Francisco State College was in a state of chaos this afternoon as rioting students and off-campus militants broke into buildings, smashed property, and knocked down and beat an undetermined number of students and newspapermen.

I might add that during that demonstration, which I myself witnessed, at a given signal from Jimmy Garrett there did appear outside the locked doors of the Administration Building approximately 60 Negroes, at least 50 of whom were not students but had been recruited from the Fillmore district for this specific demonstration.

At one point Varnado or Garrett, one or the other, announced to the assembled crowd that he had 1,000 black men standing by to take over the building at a given signal. When the signal was given, about 60 Negroes responded.

Professor Gerassi first broke a window leading to the entrance to the Administration Building, the doors of which had been locked. He climbed out on a ledge and gained admittance by breaking the window itself and damaging the venetian blinds from the inside and, from then on, the glass doors were broken open and the demonstrators took over the building.

John Levin was identified as the MAPS leader and also as a member of the pro-Mao Progressive Labor Party, along with Gerassi. They were in the forefront of the demonstration.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 138 through 140," respectively. Exhibits Nos. 138 and 139 retained in committee files. Exhibit No. 140 appears on pages 2177 and 2178.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. You might wonder who is John Gerassi. According to the *Daily Gater* for October 2, 1967, this publication states that in the summer of 1967 Gerassi was in Cuba to attend the Latin American Solidarity Conference in Havana:

In 1956 he joined Time as an art critic but was dismissed for his feelings toward Castro. Moving to Latin America he was correspondent for the New York Times from 1961 to 1962.

His first book, "Great Fear in Latin America," was published in 1963 when he was teaching French philosophy at Windham college in Vermont.

He became Latin American editor for Newsweek after he left Windham and after visiting Cuba in 1964 he was "transferred" back to the art department.

Leaving Newsweek in 1966 he joined the journalism faculty at New York University.

I am submitting in this connection the article I referred to from the *Gater*, which contains a picture of Mr. Gerassi.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 141" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The *San Francisco Examiner* on December 8, 1967, reported:

Gerassi, who describes himself as a "pro-revolutionary radical," is a lecturer on the subject on a one-year, \$13,300 contract [at San Francisco State College].

The article reflects that Marshall Windmiller, acting chairman of the international relations department, said that this is the initial step:

A committee of his own colleagues met behind closed doors today to judge San Francisco State College instructor John Gerassi, leader of Wednesday's student invasion.

* * * * *

"We are meeting," Windmiller said, "to determine whether charges should be brought against him for unprofessional conduct."

S.F. Examiner

Wed., Dec. 6, 1967

Beating, Pillaging Mob Rules Campus

San Francisco State College was in a state of chaos this afternoon as rioting students and off-campus militants broke into buildings, smashed property, and knocked down and beat an undetermined number of students and newspapermen.

President John Summer-skill, obviously deeply distressed, said the violence "verges on civil insurrection."

One professor was heard to comment to another:

"This is anarchy, complete anarchy."

The howling mob of dissidents at first represented a joint protest by white and Negro students against the suspension of several students.

But when it got out of hand, the whites tended to hang back and the rioters were joined by a number of off-campus Negroes.

The mob first smashed through glass doors to invade the locked administration building and occupied it for almost two hours, vandalizing much of the interior.

AIDES DISMISSED

Then it broke up and formed roving bands, which broke into classrooms, the cafeteria and the bookstore.

All classes were dismissed.

Employees of the administration building were sent home before the violence broke out.

This normal activity on the huge 18,000-student campus was brought to a standstill as the rioters took over.

There was no apparent official effort to quell the attacks. Few campus security police were in evidence, and city police were not immediately called.

The rioters — some from the Black Students Union and other young Negroes from off the campus — threw dishes, silverware and food in the cafeteria.

BOOKS STOLEN

They smashed a big plate glass window in the bookstore and snatched books, brief cases and cigarets.

The number of injured was not immediately determined.

When photographers began taking pictures of looters emerging from the bookstore, the rioters chased and grabbed them.

Several were beaten and injured. Some had their cameras torn from their hands and the film ripped out and exposed.

A fire was started in a disposal can at the bookstore.

ROOMS INVADED

Five City fire trucks rushed to the scene. The bookstore was filled with smoke before the fire was put out.

Some of the rioters then started bursting into classrooms, informing professors that classes were over for the day.

At about the same time the order came from the administration that all classes were to be dismissed and buildings locked up, including the library.

By mid-afternoon the disturbance began to subside, but knots of students remained on the campus despite officials' pleas, over bullhorns, that they go home.

Finally the weary Summer-skill, red-eyed and disheveled, emerged from his office to address a waiting press corps.

INSURRECTION

What occurred on the San Francisco State campus today verges on civil insurrection," he said, standing in the doorway of his office.

"It will take leadership from all segments of the Bay Area to resolve the enormous problems posed on this campus.

By exercising restraint we have avoided consequences which could have been far more disastrous.

"We are grateful that a human catastrophe was avoided."

By "restraint, Summer-skill presumably meant the decision not to call in police, but he declined to go beyond his statement or answer questions.

The "war" started as a protest at the Administration Building against the suspension of several students.

A meeting of the college Board of Appeals, which was in progress to consider the suspension of two students, was abruptly adjourned without decision as the doors fell.

The invading students were met inside the building by Professor John Gerassi, 35, of the college's Institute of International Relations, who had gone in through a side window.

FIVE DEMANDS

Gerassi had addressed a rally of students on the lawn in front of the Commons Building a few minutes earlier, telling them:

"None of the demands made by the students has been met . . . It is already a victory . . . There's no doubting it . . ."

"Either we have got to keep it (the Administration Building) closed permanently, or we still have to go in."

The hodge-podge students' group, which included the Movement Against Political Suspensions (MAPS) and the Black Students Union (BSU), had insisted that Summer-skill accede to five demands by noon today.

It was only minutes after the deadline passed that the meeting on the Commons lawn turned into a march on the Administration Building.

The doors — leading to the main lobby from the campus side of the building — actually broke under pounding from many hands. Once they gave way, students kicked out the remaining shards of glass to widen the aperture, and make it safe.

MONTGOMERY EXHIBIT No. 140—Continued

Students, Newsmen Beaten

Mob Takes Control of Campus

—From Page 1

Inside the building, they quickly spread through the corridors, chanting slogans principally aimed against suspensions for four BSU members who took part in beating the editor of the campus newspaper, The Gater.

BAN ON SEX

Summerskill had also suspended student funds for a weekly, Open Process, and the appeals board was considering suspension of its editor and a writer for violating an agreement not to publish sexual material.

The students took over both floors of the Administration Building, threatening to cut loose with fire hoses and even to break into the locked offices.

At least four windows were broken in the Administration Building. Slogans like "No Suspensions" and "Free Press" were scrawled on the walls with crayons.

Movable letters were taken from hallway directories and rearranged to read "Revolt," "Revolt Now," and "No Suspensions."

The dissidents made the press their particular targets, shouting obscenities.

Shortly before 2 o'clock Dean of Students Ferd Reddell emerged from Summerskill's office and addressed the crowd:

ASKED TO LEAVE

"The situation is one in which we cannot provide any assurance for your safety. We ask you to leave the building and to leave the campus.

"Classes have been dismissed."

John Levin, a MAPS leader, and member of the pro-Mao Progressive Labor Party, agreed that it was time to end the protest, but he said:

"We have put forth our demands, and we have shown that we can defend our demands tomorrow, the next day, or the next month."

Levin said the violence and looting, which by then had already begun, was "not a part" of the BSU and MAPS protest.

Between 200 and 300 employees had been sent home at 10 a.m. today on orders of Administrative Vice President Glenn Smith, who ordered the building closed.

The initial breach of the doors was made by white students, members of MAPS, but shortly afterward the BSU members went in behind them.

Before the invasion, Summerskill had sent out word he was willing to meet with a 12-man delegation and discuss the demands with them.

The students refused.

"I don't think there's anything to talk about," one yelled.

1500 WATCHERS

About 1500 other students stood around watching the action, but not participating, they gave catcalls and shouted ridicule in a rare display of disapproval for student activists.

Gerassi, one of several faculty members who avowedly consider themselves radicals or revolutionaries, insisted he had not broken a window to get into the building.

He said it was broken when a security guard pulled at him and a student as they tried to force their way in.

In anticipation of the outbreak, college officials had also shut down the Special Education Department, which deals in rehabilitation of physically handicapped students of all ages, and the staff of the daily Gater had closed its offices.

San Francisco police had posted 35 officers in the vicinity of the campus, ready to move in on a minute's notice if requested.

However, college authorities had made no appeal for outside help.

ADDED TOUCH

An added touch of defiance came when the suspended weekly, Open Process, appeared on the campus this

morning selling at 10 cents a copy in an apparent effort to help pay publication costs.

It contained a lengthy article criticizing Summerskill.

There had been ample warning that the students would attempt to raise the roof on the Holloway Avenue campus today. It came at a press conference called by spokesmen for the BSU and MAPS yesterday.

They didn't elaborate on what the disruptions would entail, but the campus was seething with rumors there would be everything from a "mill-in" to a "dismantling" of the building's offices.

COMPLAINTS

The activists' complaints center around alleged racism on the campus, the incident involving the beating of staff members of the Gater, the student daily newspaper, and the more recent controversy over the weekly publication, Open Process.

Nine students, all Negroes, were suspended for the attack on staffers of the Gater. Five have been reinstated and four are still under suspension.

RACISM

George Murray, instructor in English and one of the four still under suspension for the Gater incident, said:

"We will not tolerate racism on this campus any more and we'll move to destroy the institution before we will tolerate it."

Besides the revocation of all suspensions, the demands include:

- A promise that outside police will not be called to quell campus disturbances.

- Reinstatement of Open Process.

- Control of student activities — particularly student publications — by the students themselves.

- An "end" to political harassment of faculty, students, staff and administrators.

There was no indication on how Dr. Summerskill reacted to the demands.

The results of that meeting were not reflected in this particular article.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 142" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Again referring to the *San Francisco Examiner* for December 20, 1967, it reports:

John Gerassi, controversial San Francisco State College lecturer, concludes a three day guest speaking engagement today at the Peace Corps Training Center in Puerto Rico.

Soon after this riot at the San Francisco State College, which he helped to lead, he made a trip to Puerto Rico as a speaker under the auspices of the Peace Corps Training Center at Puerto Rico.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 143" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. The Peace Corps Training Center in Puerto Rico is a Federal Government training center, is it not?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That is right, Counsel. His expenses, in fact, were picked up by the Federal Government, we have been told.

Along that line, I know the chairman earlier expressed concern with respect to how Federal money was being expended. I think it might be well to mention here that I have evidence that more than \$6,000 was furnished by the War on Poverty Office, the Western Addition Office of the War on Poverty, in 1966 for costs to print, mail, and distribute flyers drumming up a combined picketing demonstration, a black power rally, antiwar and anti-Vietnam rally, lumped under the title of a "Rally for Justice." These mailings were put out on the War on Poverty stationery, and the total cost exceeded \$6,000. This was used for a purpose which had nothing to do with poverty in the Fillmore area.

I have further evidence of two weekend excursions from the Hunter's Point and Mission areas to a camp in the Santa Cruz Mountains. For the most part, it was for young Negro youths, 14, 15, 16 years of age. They were transported with all expenses paid in chartered buses leaving Friday afternoon. They would spend the weekend at the camp, returning Sunday evening.

The camp is owned and operated by Elsie and William Beltram, long known to be members of the Communist Party. The camp was headed at that time, as chief cook, handling the cooking and housing arrangements, by Virginia Proctor. Virginia Proctor is the wife of Roscoe Proctor. I don't have the figure with me, but I do have it in my personal files. Thousands of dollars were expended for this particular purpose, again coming from War on Poverty funds.

Mr. SMITH. What was the time period?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Within the past 2 years.

Mr. SMITH. 1967?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. In 1966; prior to the riot of September 27, 1966.

Mr. SMITH. Does that also apply to the poverty funds you mentioned?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, the principal rally was held in July of 1966.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any knowledge as to what was taught in these seminars and workshops?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. No, I do not have that. I made an effort to find out precisely what went on and I have not been able to determine it

precisely. I have a pretty good idea what it was, but I am not prepared to state for the record precisely what was taught. One young Negro said they discussed "politics and stuff like that." The camp is known to intelligence agencies as a Marxist indoctrination center.

Mr. SMITH. I have one further question.

With regard to Gerassi speaking at the Peace Corps Training Center in Puerto Rico, do you know whether or not he was invited as a guest for that purpose by the Peace Corps?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It is my understanding that he went there by invitation and that his expenses were paid by the Peace Corps. This is my understanding.

I have the article from the *Daily Gater* of January 4, 1968, saying that. By this time he had been suspended from the faculty:

Suspended International Relations instructor John Gerassi spent part of his Christmas vacation at a Puerto Rico Peace Corps training camp encouraging trainees to resign and aid the "revolution at home."

He told the trainees at Camp Crozier that the Dec. 6 violence on the SF State campus was "the first successful confrontation" of the evil system.

Gerassi also said that the Nov. 6 beating of *Gater* editor Jim Vaszko was not only right, but the only recourse against Vaszko, whom Gerassi labeled "obviously a racist dog."

These statements were challenged by a former SF State student now training in the Peace Corps in Puerto Rico, who accused Gerassi "of betraying all faith in justice and reason."

"You are guilty of the same moral impoverishment that you claim for the present 'establishment' . . . and in the force of moral authority—you make desperate, frustrated forays into the community when others pay no heed to your grand designs," he told Gerassi.

This is an article I would like to submit for the record.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 144" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I also have two leaflets bearing a heading, "TRIBUTE TO: CHE GUEVARA." He was scheduled to be a guest speaker at two rallies. The leaflets announce rallies to be held. Gerassi and other speakers are mentioned, and Gerassi was identified with the national coordinating committee, North American Congress on Latin America.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 145-A and B," respectively. Exhibit No. 145-A¹ retained in committee files. No. 145-B appears on page 2181.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Getting back to Gerassi, I have two exhibits I believe the committee would be interested in. One is the jacket from a book currently in publication, *Venceremos! THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF CHE GUEVARA* [Montgomery Exhibit No. 146]. It is published by The Macmillan Company, and it is edited and with an introduction by John Gerassi. It contains a picture of John Gerassi, listed as an expert on Latin American affairs. It pictures him with Che Guevara in 1961 at a conference from which evolved the Alliance for Progress. Gerassi was assigned to cover the conference for the *New York Times*. They talked at length, and this goes on with his association with Che Guevara. It says that the result is this authoritative and moving book.

¹ This leaflet submitted by Mr. Montgomery, announcing a rally on Oct. 20, 1967, states that it also would be held under the auspices of the North American Congress on Latin America and Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

TRIBUTE TO: CHE GUEVARA

PLEDGE OF SOLIDARITY
WITH THE LATIN
AMERICAN
REVOLUTION!

SPEAKERS:

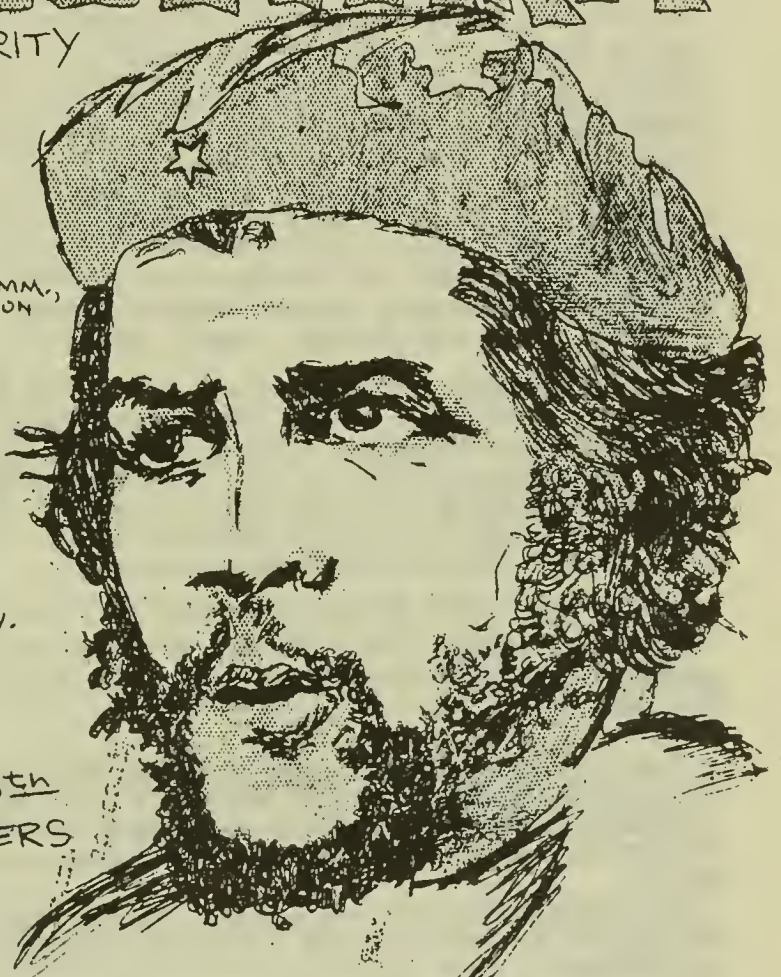
John Gerassi:
NATIONAL COORDINATING COMM.,
NORTH AMERICAN CONGRESS ON
LATIN AMERICA.

Dr Juan
Martinez

Bob Himmel
NATIONAL COMM. MEMBER,
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.

Plus Others

Thurs., Oct. 26th
12 NOON - SPEAKERS
PLATFORM



AUSPICES:

North American Congress on Latin America
and Young Socialist Alliance

On the dust jacket on the inside—and I think this is important for the committee—The Macmillan Company, in its jacket on this particular book, says:

Che Guevara's speeches and articles in *Venceremos!* constitute both a unique self-portrait of a dedicated, brilliant, and incredibly courageous man, and an historically invaluable manifesto. Guevara was second only to Fidel Castro as a leader of the Cuban Revolution. He stands alone, however, as a revolutionary, for his prime concern was non-nationalistic. He was for the oppressed everywhere.

In his own eloquent words: "Let the flag under which we fight represent the sacred cause of redeeming humanity, so that to die under the flag of Vietnam, of Venezuela, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of Bolivia, of Brazil—to name only the scenes of today's armed struggle—be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, an African, or even a European. . . . Each nation liberated is a step toward victory in the battle for the liberation of one's own country."

The thirty-five pieces in the book are arranged chronologically, beginning with an account, based on diary entries, of the guerrilla fighting in the early days of the Cuban War of Liberation and ending with Guevara's last-known writing, "Message to the Tricontinental: 'Create two, three . . . many Vietnams.'"

Among the addresses and writings included are "On Party Militancy," a classic description of the dispute between moral and material incentives; "On Revolutionary Medicine," a very moving definition of the role of the individual in a collective society, using the medically trained as an example (Guevara was himself a doctor); "Colonialism Is Doomed," his famous speech attacking United States imperialism and also proposing concrete steps for achieving peace in the Caribbean; "On Socialist Competition and Sugar Production," an earthy chat with sugar cane cutters, most of them volunteers, giving simple reassurance about machines, which were viewed with suspicion by the cutters. There are also analyses of the Alliance for Progress, of the errors and successes of the Cuban economy, of guerrilla warfare, of Cuban-United States relations, and of the production process. And there is a technical, very difficult but fundamental discourse on value and another, equally important to economists, on socialist planning.

The introduction to *Venceremos!* provides an excellent short biography of Guevara—his amazing family, his youthful days in Argentina, his education, his many tours throughout Latin America, his later trips to Czechoslovakia, China, and Korea. There is also, for those interested in special aspects of Guevara's activities, a second table of contents, organized by subject matter: guerrilla warfare, capitalism and imperialism, human values and socialist man, economic theory, and economic policy.

Along with this jacket illustration, I would like to submit for the record an excerpt from *Human Events*, dated May 18, 1968 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 147]. It carries the headline, "Macmillan Boosts 'Che'":

The reputable Macmillan publishing company has come under heavy fire from veteran anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital. What has aroused their wrath is the way in which the company has given a sort of "moral glow" to Communist revolutionary "Che" Guevara in a new book, *Venceremos!*, edited by John Gerassi.

In discussing Che, the book jacket claims that he "stands alone . . . as a revolutionary, for his prime concern was non-nationalistic. He was for the oppressed everywhere."

The book jacket never once states that Guevara was a Communist, that he devoted his life to terroristic tactics or that his ideology has helped to enslave rather than liberate millions of people. On the contrary, this leading advocate of murder on an international scale is only described in romantic terms.

The back of the jacket is also misleading regarding editor Gerassi. Termed an "expert on Latin American affairs" who "teaches Nationalism and Revolution in the Third World" at San Francisco State College, Gerassi, according to Macmillan, has edited an "authoritative and moving book."

Gerassi, however, is more than just an interested observer of Che Guevara. He is part of a guerrilla warfare-oriented group called Revolutionary Contingent, an openly Communist organization with headquarters in New York City. The contingent, according to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, "calls for 'guerrilla action' in the United States and for volunteers to serve with Communist guerrillas in other nations."

Gerassi is also an adviser to the Radical Education Project of the Students for a Democratic Society; served as director of the U. S. branch of the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal which accused the U. S. of genocide in Viet Nam; and is a sponsor of the draft resistance movement.

No one faults Macmillan for bringing out some of the writings of Che Guevara, a leading revolutionary figure of the times. But there is much condemnation of the company for camouflaging the true character of both Guevara and editor Gerassi.

I would like to submit that for the record, sir.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 146 and 147," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Do you know the translation of *Venceremos!*?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. "We shall conquer."

Mr. SMITH. Does that complete your statement?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. That concludes my statement with regard to that.

Mr. SMITH. A few minutes ago you described a disturbance that occurred on the campus at the San Francisco State College. Were the police called to quell the disturbance which occurred on December 6, 1967?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. No, they were not. I might say, incidentally, I found here in my file the reference to John Gerassi being fired from the faculty as a result of the disturbance, together with a record of his arrest from the police files in the Bay area reflecting his arrest and the fact that some of them were arrested and are standing trial.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 148-A and B," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Dr. Summerskill, president of the university, did not call in police on campus, although it was my understanding he was in constant contact with the police. I know for a fact he was. I was present in Dr. Summerskill's office moments before the doors to the Administration Building were broken in. With him at that time was an inspector from the San Francisco police intelligence unit, a very able inspector named Cecil Pharris. He had been in constant contact with Chief of Police Cahill, and Summerskill did not want the police to come on campus, and Cahill preferred not to send men in there if it could possibly be avoided. He felt only that it might incite the situation to a more serious nature than did develop, and I might say that subsequently the board of supervisors commended Chief Cahill for the position he took on this situation.

The police were not called even though, after the initial demonstration in which the Administration Building was broken open, there followed a few minutes later rioting outside the student Commons and the Associated Student Bookstore in which windows were broken, cigarettes were stolen, the cash register was looted. I recall the Christmas tree decorations were set on fire, and the fire department had to come and put the fire out.

But the police were in the area, and I am sure if things had gone beyond a given point the police would have been summoned, but there were no police on campus at the time of the demonstration. The campus police were most conspicuous by their absence.

Mr. SMITH. What do you mean? Would they have taken immediate action?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. They came to media offices, studying pictures and television scenes that were taken, those that survived. Some television cameramen and newsmen had their cameras seized, particularly during

the looting of the bookstore. The police were able to piece together who were the ringleaders and who did this and who did that, and eventually a case against them, with sufficient evidence, was put together into a final report and the arrests ensued.

There were 11 students and 1 professor, referring to Gerassi. The complaints were signed by John Summerskill through the district attorney's office.

An exhibit reflecting that, a newspaper account for January 9, 1968 [*Oakland Tribune*, Montgomery Exhibit No. 149-A], is available.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have the identity of the individuals arrested?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, the names appear in the exhibit just introduced.

However, I would like to refer to another exhibit, a leaflet distributed on campus of the San Francisco State College [Montgomery Exhibit No. 149-B]. This particular list said that student arrests were pending, and this came out just 2 days before these arrests were effected or before the complaint had been signed, and someone within the MAPS had reason to believe there were going to be arrests. They said the persons to be arrested included John Gerassi, Bob Fenster, John Webb, Bob Broadhead, and Hari Dillon, "Khasro"¹ Kalantari, Jimmy Garrett. Hari Dillon was cochairman of the Students for a Democratic Society. The committee is well aware of what the society constitutes.

Continuing with those named, Greg Margolis.

Incidentally, Khosro Kalantari is a leader of the Iranian Students Association.² He is very much a militant and is presently the subject of a deportation hearing now in process with the United States Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Francisco. There has been a temporary delay in the proceedings while his attorney goes to Iran ostensibly to obtain affidavits to the effect that if he were to be deported he would be persecuted or executed in Iran. So, what the outcome will be remains to be seen.

Going back to the commentary, he led the demonstration against the Iranian consul in San Francisco. He has been anti his own country ever since he has been here.

There is also Jimmy Garrett of the Black Students Union. Greg Margolis is an opposition leader on the campus. John Levin, Jon McKenney—

Mr. SMITH. Is that J-o-n or J-o-h-n?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. J-o-n, no "h"—Jon McKenney, and Dick Tewes, all members of the Progressive Labor Party.

Finally, Sue Bethel, who is a Progressive Labor Party member and also in the Organization of Student Employees.

My reason for identifying these people in this manner and with their organizations is to afford the committee a better perspective of the political significance of this.

Here you have not just one organization, but various leftist radical organizations combined in the assault on the administration of the San Francisco State College itself.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 149-A and B," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

¹ Correct spelling "Khosro."

² Literature from this group gives the full name as "Iranian Students Association in the United States of America, I.S.A.U.S."

Mr. SMITH. What organizations compose or spearhead the Movement Against Political Suspension?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. From the people arrested, it would certainly appear the Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Students Union, the Progressive Labor Party, were the foremost leaders, the ringleaders. There is also a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. These would be the Trotskyites of which Miss Helen Mayers is the cochairman; and the Peace and Freedom Party, headed on the campus by Michael Gotz, the organizer.

I have an exhibit, the *San Francisco Examiner* of December 14, 1967, reflecting reaction to the demonstrations that occurred, and the tenor of it is they are defending the violence in the name of peace. This is that all that occurred was justified; that violence is urged in the name of peace. So, I would like to submit this article for the record, quoting one individual as saying, "there is no dialogue. Neither the activist left, nor some of the other groups want any dialogue."

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 150" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Frankly, they are pointing out no matter what you give them here, they are going to want something else. Their total objective is not peace on campus, but just simply continued agitation. You give them one thing, and they will demand another.

Mr. SMITH. Have there been further demonstrations organized by MAPS?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, there have been.

I have an exhibit [*Santa Ana Register*] dated December 13, 1967. By that time there had been two additional minor demonstrations in which 100 demonstrators held a sit-in in San Francisco State College.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 151" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. At that time, while their representatives were conferring with President John Summerskill, they held a peaceful sit-in for 3½ hours in the Administration Building. There was no violence or threat of violence, and the situation was handled by college authorities. They had simply gone there to back up their spokesmen, who at that time were conferring with Summerskill in his office making further demands.

Mr. SMITH. Does Jimmy Garrett hold any official position with the student body at San Francisco State College?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. There is the faculty academic senate, which is a closely knit small group of professors within the total faculty who sort of govern the faculty's attitude on this matter or that matter. They might draw from a speaking committee for the faculty at large. For the most part, this committee is composed of extremists, both at this institution and the University of California. I once referred to it as the tail wagging the dog at both schools.

The ideology of this small group of professors, in the main, is far left of center and yet they have the authority to speak for the faculty as a whole, and this comes about perhaps because the faculty themselves do not become interested sufficiently to see that their total views are represented.

At Berkeley you have 1,700 professors and when an academic meeting is called you are lucky if 170 show up, 10 percent. And of that 10

percent the vast majority will be those leaning far to the left, and some, from my own direct knowledge, are actually members of the party. It eventually narrows down to where they have control of the situation and, as I say, the tail is wagging the dog, and that is exactly what is happening at San Francisco State College.

On this faculty academic senate there is a representative from the student body, and Garrett has held that seat, but I do not know whether he still holds it today.

Mr. SMITH. Is the Black Student Union represented on other college campuses?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes; but I don't know to what extent. Investigation has been made at San Jose State College, which has a chapter. I know Los Angeles City College has a chapter, Stanford University has a chapter, California State College at Fullerton has a chapter, and I know that Claremont Men's College down by Pomona has a chapter. That chapter may entail the five colleges. There are five colleges there known as Claremont Colleges. They have a chapter that is becoming gradually a little militant.

There is a chapter now even at the Mills College, an exclusive all-women's college in the East Bay area. There are very few Negroes enrolled there, but they have a chapter. They recently made demands. They were going to kick up a fuss unless a certain individual, a Negro, was appointed to the faculty. First they were told the appointments for next year had already been made. They made further demands, said they were going to cause trouble. Something like this could never happen at Mills College, but it did. It came about, and as a result the additional faculty member was employed and without benefit of security check.

I don't mind saying that the person so employed is a known active member of the Communist Party. So here again you are getting the camel with its head in the tent, and before long this will continue.

Mr. SMITH. Do you have any information concerning a professor at San Francisco State College by the name of Juan R. Martinez?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes. Martinez even currently, right today, is in considerable trouble at San Francisco State College. He is known both as John and Juan Martinez.

He joined the faculty at San Francisco State College as a temporary professor in 1966. He graduated from Brigham Young University in 1950 with a B.A. degree. He received an M.A. degree in 1953 and a Ph.D. degree in 1956, both from the University of California at Berkeley. He is employed by San Francisco State College as a lecturer on history. His name also appears on this flyer that I put into evidence earlier calling attention to a tribute to Che Guevara calling for a rally on Friday, October 20 of last year, 1967 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 145-A]. One of the featured speakers at this rally as advertised was Juan Martinez, paying tribute to Che Guevara.

In the fall of 1967 he contacted the principal of the Mission High School. Bear in mind he is only there as a lecturer on a temporary basis; he does not have tenure.

In this particular area—Mission High School—there is a great percentage of Mexican Americans. This is their central living section of town.

An invitation was extended and accepted. However, the actual purpose of the invitation is better described in two newspaper articles

from which I will read. The first is from the *San Francisco Chronicle* dated May 1, 1968 [Montgomery Exhibit No. 152-A]:

Youth Invasion
At S. F. State

by Jerry Carroll

A throng of hooting high school students in an angry and uncompromising mood yesterday baited the dean of admissions at San Francisco State College into making a written offer to resign.

Dean Charles A. Stone, 50, wrote the letter but in long hand as a score of students stood in ranks five deep around the desk in his cramped office.

Stone's written offer to resign—which administration officials later said would be disregarded—climaxed more than an hour of confused bickering back and forth over State's admission policies.

DEMAND

More than 100 teen-agers—most of them from Mission High School—appeared on campus at the invitation of the Third World Liberation Front to demand that the college admit more minority group students.

"We are tired of hearing talk," shouted Ron Quidachay, 21, chairman of the radical student group. "We want to help ourselves. That's why we are here."

The students specifically demanded that the school take advantage of a new law permitting the relaxation of academic standards for up to 4 per cent of its freshman and transfer enrollees if they qualify as "disadvantaged" students.

The students—most of them Mexican-Americans—trooped into the administration building at 11:30 a.m. chanting, "We Want Education—Now."

It goes on to describe the scene, what happened and how they pressured the dean of admissions. He would give them anything to get rid of them. [Continues reading:]

SYMBOL

Dr. Juan Martinez, a sociology professor who is faculty adviser for the student organization, explained why Stone had to go.

"He's a symbol of the white racist establishment," Martinez said.

The student group Martinez advises most recently was involved in forcibly seizing control of YMCA quarters on campus. His teaching contract has not been renewed and expires in June.

Following this, it was learned that the students who were there from Mission High School held a rally, a meeting of their own at Mission High, which is recounted in a San Francisco paper [*San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1968, Montgomery Exhibit No. 152-B]:

High School 'Protesters' Say They Were Used

by Maitland Zane

Forty embarrassed Mission High School students charged yesterday they were duped into taking part in Tuesday's uproar at San Francisco State College at which a dean was goaded into resigning.

The students—with one exception—blasted the demonstration as phony and accused Dr. Juan Martinez, a sociology professor, of using them for his own political purposes.

As one pretty senior said, "We just got caught in the middle."

APOLOGIES

The students, almost all of them Spanish-Americans or Filipino, apologized for the embarrassment [sic] they caused Admissions Dean Charles A. Stone. It was his office they invaded at the behest of Dr. Martinez and some 20 members of a radical State College organization, the Third World Liberation Front.

The principal of Mission High, Dr. Harry Krytzer, as well as two teachers, Gloria Burchard and Minerva Barranco, said Dr. Martinez had told them the one-day visit to S. F. State would be for the purpose of acquainting prospective freshmen with the campus, with courses available and with registration procedures.

The orientation tour by some 100 Spanish-American students from Mission, Galileo, Balboa and Samuel Gompers high schools was quickly converted into a protest aimed at getting the college to take advantage of a new law permitting the relaxation of academic standards for "disadvantaged" students, up to 4 per cent of freshmen and transfer enrollees.

After being herded hither and thither by chanting campus "guides," the Mission High students found themselves in Stone's office, where some 300 entrance applications were presented.

Stone refused to guarantee that all the applications would be accepted. The harassment continued, and he offered to quit.

The former Air Force colonel's "letter of resignation" was rejected, and college officials told Stone he had been hired as a full-time faculty member.

At yesterday's post-mortem, the students agreed it was the campus radicals who had done most of the shouting.

"We didn't go there with plans to revolt, or harass anybody, or make anybody resign," said Sadie Vialpando.

"It was those 20 State College students who were saying 'racist'—not us," said another senior, Dan Herran.

"I want to know if he (Martinez) did this for our benefit or his."

'USED'

Lupe Jasso, 18, insisted that she and her friends had been led down the garden path. "Didn't you feel like you were being used?" she cried. "I did!"

So the high school youngsters themselves realized they had been taken.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 152-A and B," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Do you have anything else to add to your testimony in regard to the San Francisco State College?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I might repeat in finality that Dr. Summerskill was discharged after having been given 6 months to find another job and having announced he was going to resign effective the end of the semester.

There were further demonstrations on campus, demands made, certain demands that were made and had not been met, including the rehiring of Martinez. That was one of the demands, and demands that ROTC be thrown off of campus. The students had voted earlier to retain ROTC.

The Students for a Democratic Society wanted a completely new referendum to be held, in which the graduate students and the faculty could participate. They wanted another vote on this matter and this had been denied them.

Finally, enough pressure built up on one occasion there that Summerskill had to call in the police at 10 or 10:30 at night. When they closed the Administration Building at 10 o'clock the students wouldn't leave. On this occasion, the police were called. There was a minimum amount of trouble. Some of them had to be hauled out, carted out. This was the occasion when attorney Terence Hallinan was obstinate and aggressive to the point where finally he had to be clubbed. I think they took 12 stitches in his scalp before it was over.

These people were carted off. There were a number of arrests made. This is current and pending in court.

Later they had another demonstration and they cleared out when the time came.

As a result of all of this, Summerskill agreed to rehire Martinez and agreed to a new referendum on ROTC. He agreed to an X number of Negro faculty members and these various demands. After Summerskill signed the agreement, within a matter of hours, Chancellor Dumke took a telephone poll of trustees throughout the State. As a result Summerskill was told it was not necessary to wait until the end of the semester to retire. He was fired.

A new acting president was appointed. Summerskill took off by plane for Addis Ababa where he said he was considering a job with the University of Ethiopia through the Ford Foundation. I don't know what there is over there in Addis Ababa, but once someone has a can tied to them, they wind up there through the Ford Foundation.

The last I heard, Dr. Summerskill was touring the Greek Isles with a lady he says he will eventually marry. His wife obtained an interlocutory decree. It is not final. As I say, he announced they will marry and presently they are touring the Greek Isles.

Mr. SMITH. We will take a 5-minute recess.

(Brief recess.)

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Montgomery, in resuming your testimony, you have not completed your testimony regarding the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee. Will you conclude your information on this subject?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Yes, I have for the committee three exhibits on the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee.

This is a letter dated August 3, 1967, directed to those persons who had attended the Hall of Flowers meeting, about which I testified yesterday, on July 22, and including, in this particular letter, a solicitation for money. They need \$2,500 to run a half-page ad in the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner*, and with the appeal for money the statement is made that time was short. It was sent out by Susan Supriano, about whom I testified previously.

With it is attached a two-page leaflet pertaining to objectives of this particular organization, and some of them, the statements, are very adverse to President Johnson and the administration in general [Montgomery Exhibit No. 153].

I also have a document dated July 28, 1967. It is on "WORKSHOP REPORTS" under the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee, touching on welfare, with police brutality given preference, and calling for the organization of the Negro community and the poor whites [Montgomery Exhibit No. 154].

Again, with respect to whom to contact in connection with this proposed workshop, it states particularly to call Mrs. [Billie] Wachter, San Jose.

Mrs. Billie Wachter, as I previously testified, has been a long-time, active functionary of the Communist Party. I cite that simply to show who the people are who are behind this organization.

Finally, appearing in the *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle* for August 13, 1967, the ad referred to in the solicitation of funds signed by Susan Supriano and giving an address with respect to whom to mail your contributions, Georgia Scholine, acting secre-

tary, again setting forth an attack on President Johnson and the administration generally [Montgomery Exhibit No. 155].

That concludes my testimony on the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee and the Bay City area.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 153 through 155," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Now would you tell us about the Berkeley Action Committee?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The first meeting of this committee was under the auspices of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee, which was formed at a meeting held at the Hall of Flowers in San Francisco on July 22, 1967.

The Bay Area Emergency Action Committee is considered the parent organization of the Berkeley Emergency Action Committee. In other words, at this general meeting at the Hall of Flowers, which was called by the Bay Area [Emergency Action] Committee, they formed a suborganization, not a splinter group but a subsidiary group, called the Berkeley Emergency Action Committee.

Mr. SMITH. What was the first activity of the Berkeley Emergency Action Committee?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Their first activity in the East Bay area was their appearance before the Berkeley City Council on July 25, 1967, and I have a statement prepared by them for presentation to the Berkeley City Council, from which I would like to quote.

This statement reads as follows:

We believe that white America must address itself to the problem not of looted stores, but of looted lives.

It is a very critical statement of the Governor of California, the Federal Administration, and also touches with much emphasis on alleged police brutality existing in the Berkeley area.

It is critical of law and order and advocates a welfare program which, I might say, was not adopted by the Berkeley City Council.

Then they couple that with a set of proposals to outline their position with regard to the Berkeley Police Department, and that is included in their statement.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 156" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Who were the organizers of the Berkeley Emergency Action Committee?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. In Exhibit 156, with respect to the Berkeley City Council, Howard A. Harawitz, whose name has appeared earlier in this hearing, and Brownlee Shirek were identified as the temporary coordinators.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to state for the record at this point that a committee staff investigation has developed that Howard A. Harawitz signed a membership certification of student organizations using campus facilities for special meetings or events, University of California, Berkeley campus, spring semester of 1963, as president of an organization, Berkeley Campus DuBois Club, and with an address of 1811-A Woolsey Street, Berkeley.

You may proceed.

Can you further identify these two men?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I can.

Howard Albert Harawitz was born in Brooklyn, New York, on December 30, 1937. And in February of 1967 he lived at 1830 Derby Street, Berkeley, California, with his wife, Elly M. Harawitz. At this time he listed his occupation as editor-photographer. He was a candidate for councilman in the city of Berkeley in the spring of 1967. He gained most of his support from a new leftist political organization known as the Community for New Politics (CNP).

As pointed out, he has served as president of the UC DuBois chapter, which fact was established by the previously mentioned membership certification at the UC campus.

Brownlee W. Shirek was born April 4, 1911, in California and lives at 2705 Walker Street, Berkeley, California, with his wife, Maudelle.

I have two documents which I would like to offer to the committee as exhibits, the first being a page from the voter's pamphlet for the Berkeley city elections for the spring of 1967, identifying Harawitz as a candidate for city council. He failed. He was not elected.

The second document I would like to introduce is the first page and cover of the W. E. B. DuBois Club magazine entitled *INSURGENT*, volume 1, number 1, March-April 1965, showing Howard Harawitz as the initial contributing photographer for the cover picture. This is only one example of his work. He has been a frequent photographer for the *INSURGENT*, and I have seen from time to time his pictures, byline pictures in other leftist organizations and publications in the Bay area.

He has been listed in connection with the *INSURGENT* and he has been listed as one of their photographers.

This gives him credit for the photo that is on the initial cover of that initial issue of that publication.

(Documents marked "Montgomery Exhibits Nos. 157 and 158," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. What was the result of Mr. Harawitz' statement of the Berkeley City Council?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. According to the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* of July 27, 1967, Mr. Harawitz was allowed to appear before the council on July 25, and the article was to the effect that he was not particularly well received:

Disarm Among Pleas Voiced To City Council

Negroes charging police brutality and demanding sweeping changes in Berkeley Police Dept. procedures, including disarming the police, were heard by City Council in a tense session that ended early yesterday.

The Negroes spoke after Howard Harawitz presented a five-page statement of demands. Harawitz, a defeated Community for New Politics candidate for City Council, said he was speaking for a group called the Berkeley Emergency Action Committee.

This exhibit goes on to the arguments that were made that night and other speakers on that occasion. It became a rather stormy session that lasted well beyond midnight and it should be of interest to the committee.

Also speaking on that occasion was Raymond Thompson, a longtime member of the Communist Party, and he is quoted in here extensively in opposition to police and alleged police brutality. For instance, Raymond Thompson also had this to say:

"In case you white people don't know it, we may not have a Berkeley unless we get the right answer . . . we'll die together.

"The Negro revolutionary movement," * * * "is in its second phase right now. The first phase was demonstrations and they got us nowhere. The second phase is burning our own homes and shops.

"The next step," * * * "is the invasion of the white community" and the burning of their homes and shops.

These were his remarks to the Berkeley City Council on that occasion.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 159" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. At this point, I would like to enter into the record information from the committee's files relating to Raymond Thompson.

Ray Thompson was identified as a member of the Communist Party by witnesses testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953. William Ames, Dickson P. Hill, Mary E. P. Bradsher, and Bertha Grover all testified they had known Mr. Thompson to be a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Hill and Mr. Ames stated they knew him to be a member of the Alameda County security commission and a functionary of the Communist Party.

How long did this organization exist, Mr. Montgomery?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. You will recall, Mr. Counsel, I testified earlier to the meeting at the Hall of Flowers sponsored by the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee, at which Robert Avakian, representing the Student Organizing Committee, advocated the raising of funds for the supplying of handguns and arms, weapons for the black community of the Bay area.

This leaflet, which I earlier introduced in evidence [Montgomery Exhibit No. 103], brought about considerable adverse publicity, and from that time on we heard nothing further from the Berkeley Emergency Action Committee. It apparently phased out as a result of adverse criticism of the program announced by Avakian.

The last publicity I am aware of appeared in *People's World*, August 5, 1967, and I will submit a copy of this article for the record.

Significantly, it carries a drawing of Howard Harawitz and tells how they had listened to him at the July 25, 1967, Berkeley Council meeting.

The article quotes Berkeley Councilman Ronald Dellums as stating, in reference to the shooting of a Negro bank robber:

"We've got to get to the point where we stop shooting down people because they steal something."

The article continues:

Which is almost exactly what the recently formed Berkeley Emergency Action Committee told the council when it laid a series of proposals before the Council on July 25.

"We believe," Howard Harawitz, spokesman for the committee, told the council, "that white America must address itself to the problem not of looted stores, but of looted lives."

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 160" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. A few minutes ago you mentioned the Oakland Emergency Action Committee. Could you tell us when this committee was organized?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The first document I have on it is dated August 1, 1967. It gives an address of 6444 Colby Avenue, Oakland, California. This is out near the Berkeley line. And this is a proposal, a "Dear Friend" letter, which reads as follows:

DEAR FRIEND: We are mailing you the draft of a proposed statement to the Mayor and City Council of Oakland. It is being sent to you for the following reasons: first, for any suggestions you might wish to make for improving and strengthening it; second, in order to solicit your support for the Oakland Emergency Action Committee in presenting it publicly and securing its adoption.

To accomplish the first, you are invited to participate in a meeting on Tuesday evening, Aug. 8, at the Fruitvale Ave. Church at 1601 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, at 8 p.m.

At the meeting we hope to work out a final draft of the statement, and further, to elect a delegation to the Mayor and City Council.

You are receiving this letter because we are sure you are concerned over the recent events in Newark and Detroit. Please come to the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Jeannette Geshwind
JEANNETTE GESHWIND,

Secretary for the Oakland Emergency Action Committee.

I have attached to this the program outline that was submitted to the mayor and the city council, and it parallels in great measure that same action taken at the Berkeley City Council. I might say it met with the same results.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 161" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Was there any followup on this initial action or meeting?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have another document received August 1967. This is a document in which the Oakland Emergency Action Committee is soliciting people to sign an enclosed form letter, which is a condensation of the demands previously entered, and return it to the Oakland Emergency Action Committee in the care of—"The Oakland Emergency Action Committee c/o 1041 Warfield Ave., Apt. #1, Oakland, Calif. 94610." The attached letter, in part, states:

We are working to obtain 1000 signed letters within the next three weeks, for presentation before the City Council.

Mr. SMITH. Do you know who lives at 1041 Warfield Avenue, Apartment #1, Oakland, California? This would be in August of 1967.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. My records reflect, obtained through the telephone and city directory sources, that the registered resident was Patricia Grogan.

Mr. SMITH. What position was taken in the attached letter that you mentioned there?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Their position:

We of the Oakland community wish to prevent the tragedy of Newark and Detroit from being repeated here.

The danger is grave. All the problems—unemployment, poverty, substandard housing, strained relations with the police—exist in Oakland in a very high degree.

Especially acute are the problems of jobs and police relations with the community. To tackle these problems in a meaningful way requires a bold new approach. As a beginning, we call for the following:

1. Open up 5,000 new jobs at standard wages for the black community in the public sector of employment.

In other words, through the city or county. [Continues reading:]

The City Council can:

a. Send a delegation immediately to Washington to demand an emergency allotment of \$50 million for jobs, under the Public Works Department. Senator Morton of Kentucky has said \$1 billion in federal funds is available for our needy cities.

b. Immediately use all surplus and capital improvement funds in city departments for jobs on repairing and improving our decaying city, its parks, schools, and hospitals.

c. Build 2500 housing units under Prop. F this fiscal year. The timetable set up recently by the City Council was a forward step, but in view of the great need for employment and housing, a much faster tempo is required.

2. Toward improving police policy, we urge:

a. Issuing citations, instead of arresting the individual, in cases of misdemeanors. This does away with the cost of bail.

b. Prohibiting the use of weapons or violence of any kind against suspects or prisoners except in the defense of human life.

c. Building an integrated police department. Today we have less than 20 black policemen [sic] in a force of 600-700. Hire immediately at regular pay 100 trainees from the black community; these trainees to have priority for jobs opening up on the force.

Those were included among their proposals.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 162" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Is this organization still functioning?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. The last information we have is a letter received on December 4, 1967, in which the progress and accomplishments of this organization were outlined, and it states in part—this, incidentally, is sent out by Beryl F. Zimberoff, corresponding secretary for the Oakland Emergency Action Committee, and it gives an address of 985-60th Street, Oakland, California:

1) Through letters and personal contact the Committee has brought the problem of jobs and police brutality in our city to the attention of over 3000 people. Over 800 persons signed our appeal to the Mayor and City Council for opening up 5000 new jobs in the public sector, and our demand for a change in police practices.

* * * * *

3) We met with the Mayor about jobs and police procedures; and the City Council twice took up our request for a hearing. While it refused both times to give us a place on the agenda, the second time the defeat was by a narrow 4-3 vote.

* * * * *

5) Our program on jobs and police brutality has been taken up with a number of organizations, including churches and labor unions. While it has been difficult to achieve much publicity, some of the activity of the Committee did break into the press.

I mentioned the letter was signed by Beryl F. Zimberoff, identifying herself as corresponding secretary for the Oakland Emergency Action Committee, 985-60th Street, Oakland. That is the address of Ozzo J. Marrow.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 163" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. At this point, I would like to enter into the record information from the committee's files which reflects that Ozzo Marrow was identified as a member of the Communist Party in Berkeley, California, in testimony before this committee by Bertha Grover on November 18, 1953.

Mr. Montgomery, this concludes my interrogation on this subject. Would you have anything else you would care to add?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. I have one exhibit that I think should go to the committee. It does not relate directly to the Emergency Action Committee.

This is a folder which was put out. It is 14 or 15 pages. It is titled simply "CUBA—AN EXAMINATION OF THE RECENT CRISIS." It is by Bettina Aptheker, Carol Cohen, and Howard Harawitz. It was distributed in, I believe, February of 1963 by the W. E. B. DuBois Club of Berkeley, California. It contains information and statements that I think would be of interest to this committee, and I have it here for the committee's perusal.

(Document marked "Montgomery Exhibit No. 164" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. SMITH. Do you have a closing statement you want to make?

Mr. MONTGOMERY. It has been a privilege to appear before the committee under subpena and to make known for the record various facts that are, I feel, detrimental to the welfare of our country. Certain information presented here is being disclosed for the public record for the first time.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Montgomery. It has been a pleasure to have had you before the committee, and on behalf of the members of the committee, the staff, and myself, I do thank you very much for your most enlightening testimony. I think it will be of great help to Congress.

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p.m., Friday, June 28, 1968, Mr. Montgomery's affidavit was concluded.)

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